

REMAKING THE WORLD

Frank N.D. Buchman

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The Speeches of

FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN

LONDON

BLANDFORD PRESS

FOREWORD

by

THE HON. C. J. HAMBRO

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IT IS ABOUT TIME that a book was published which could tell something of the story of Frank Buchman and what he has done and is doing in the world of today. It is not an easy thing to accomplish, and perhaps it can only be done in the way attempted in this book, by letting Dr Buchman—"Frank" only and the only "Frank" to millions of men and women in many countries—speak for himself, and at the same time letting his friends speak for him.

Elsewhere in this book is told how the call came to Frank Buchman, how his own life was changed, how gradually the conviction grew upon him that God had a plan for every human being, that the secret of a living faith is to discipline one's self to listen to God—hence the "quiet time" in his message. It is explained what is meant by a "house party" and what kind of wonderful teamwork can be accomplished there, and it is told how he gathered around him the men and women who came to be called the Oxford Group and taught them to live "the four absolutes"—absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. In the light of their lives and of their experience they found that the test of absolute honesty in religion, the proof that you yourself are changed, is that you can change others.

Only by understanding these things is it possible to gain the perspective of this book. For Frank Buchman is not primarily an orator, he is even somewhat reluctant to address large gather-

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ings ; he likes them because he likes and loves human beings. But he prefers to let others speak and himself remain in the background. However, he knows that great gatherings are useful and necessary as a means to bring people together. They form part of the strategy of an all-embracing plan to conquer the world for Christ.

At these gatherings, Frank is the director of the orchestra, laying out the programme, choosing the performers and inspiring every single instrumentalist with his boundless spiritual energy and dynamic conviction. But once in a while he has also to be soloist, hand out a theme and interpret the symphony. The statements and addresses collected in this volume are such keynote speeches.

But Dr Buchman's leadership is not explained by his words alone. His strength, the strength given to him, is to create an atmosphere, to make a small group of men and women or a tremendous gathering eager to listen to God, and willing, at least for the moment, to yield their own selves, and open their hearts to God's plans for them.

This atmosphere is not created by any kind of mystic rites, by ceremonies, incense or music. No stage is set ; there are no paraphernalia. Frank's approach is realistic ; it is factual ; it is businesslike. He is more like a scientist or a physician than a priest or a mystic. He has as deep a distrust of sentimentalism and emotionalism as he has of authoritative pompousness and clerical unction. He has a stronger belief in silence than in words ; and the secret of his power lies in the "quiet time", in the disciplined effort to sweep the mind clean of all things trivial and temporal and make the soul ready to listen to the voice of God. He knows that God is not in the wind and not in the earthquake and not in the fire, but in the still small voice.

And the miracle happens that by appealing, not to emotion, but to reason, to common horse-sense—and by the compelling

strength of his spiritual conviction—he communicates this knowledge to nearly all those who are present at his meetings. The sceptic, the cynic, the infidel, the atheist—even the journalist—who has attended one of those gatherings, sometimes unwillingly, reluctantly, shamefacedly has to admit that he has felt, at least for a fleeting moment, what, for want of a better explanation, he agrees to call the presence of God.

That is why it is of importance to give an idea of the setting of the meetings of the Oxford Group, to see them with the eyes of the observer, to hear the evidence of those who attended. But even so the picture would be incomplete without some indications as to what happened after the meetings—such as are given in the various sections of this book.

It is quite simple, and at the same time it is not easy to explain. The Oxford Group did not bring any new message ; for it was all there. But they made aggressively alive what had been dormant ; they ploughed and harrowed and disseminated the good seed over a soil that had lain fallow for so long a time that people had forgotten that it should bear fruit. In most Christian countries people were shy to mention the name of God (except when swearing) and still more the name of Christ. It simply wasn't done. It was embarrassing, it made people self-conscious and ill at ease.

I remember many years ago I read in A. B. Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* a Shinto sermon. It went somewhat like this : "If your friend comes to dinner in a dress that is soiled by some bad stains, which he has failed to observe, you say to him, 'Excuse me, my friend, you have some bad dirt on the hem of your robe,' or, 'By some accident your right sleeve has been polluted by oil.' And he will bow and thank you profusely for having called his attention to it and tell you that he will send his robe to the cleaner immediately. (That was sixty years ago !) But, if you should happen to call his attention to something far more

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important, and say to him, 'My very dear and most respected friend, you must excuse me, but there is some very bad dirt on your soul,' or, 'By some accident your mind has been polluted,' the same man will turn furiously on you and say, 'Damn your cheek ! What concern of yours is that ?' "

The sermon stuck in my mind, because its truth was so obvious; but somehow it was very difficult to practise the philosophy of the Shinto priest. When I first met the Oxford Group it struck me that these people were doing just what was recommended in Mr Mitford's book. People thanked them politely for being thus warned, took a good look at the dirt on their minds and the pollution of their hearts and promised to go to the cleaner—only, the Oxford Group called this "life-changing".

Of course, it was inevitable that some people felt indignant when their attention was called to the need for change. They did not like themselves too well when their minds were opened—and so they did not like Frank too well. As a result, in the various countries which they invaded, amid hosts of friends they also left some quite bitter enemies. And it was also inevitable that some of the more inexperienced but enthusiastic young life-changers occasionally might approach strangers in a way which even their dearest friends in the Group would hesitate to call tactful. But always they succeeded in making Christianity real. It became hot news. They made God the talk of the town.

Of course, there were some who followed the Group because it was the fashion, people who talked about God and moral principles as they talked of tea and tennis, who discussed "change" and the "quiet time" as futilely and fatuously as they had discussed any trifle of their trivial life in earlier days. Such people will always be found on the fringe of any great spiritual movement. But they were kinder after they had been touched by the Group. They wanted to be good and do good. Frank Buchman and his team did not pretend to recreate people. They tried to change

them. And wherever the Group went there was this same stirring of the deep waters.

As we were looking on this modern Christian brotherhood, there came to many of us some words written by G. K. Chesterton in his beautiful little book on St Francis of Assisi :

The servants of God who had been a besieged garrison became a marching army ; the ways of the world were filled as with thunder with the trampling of their feet, and far ahead of that ever swelling host went a man singing.

Now, between Frank from Assisi and Frank from Allentown there is as much difference as between daily life in Italy in the twelfth century and daily life in the U.S.A. in the twentieth century. And still there is this deep spiritual kinship, a connecting dream, a vision, an action.

For under Frank Buchman's very serious consciousness of responsibility, behind his often quite stern efficiency, behind his keen and sometimes ironic sense of humour, there is the lovable little boy who more than anything else would like to go singing far ahead of an ever swelling crowd. And as a matter of fact, that is what Frank has been doing for a number of years, followed by men and women, who through him have been liberated and are no longer besieged by the forces of egotism and selfishness, people who are living in a new spirit of fellowship and in a complete freedom from fear, because they have nothing to hide.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." And the fruits of the Oxford Group were very sweet. Those who saw with an open mind and an open soul how Frank Buchman's team worked, felt about them something that might have been articulated in the words Chesterton used about the Crusaders :

They were renounced by their children and refuted by their biographers ; they were exposed, they were exploded, they were ridiculed, and they were right.

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These men and women came, and no matter how critical we were, no matter how easy it was to be sarcastic at their expense, there were some things that could not be laughed away. They had a quality of life which we were lacking ; they had succeeded in forgetting their own egos ; they were always eager to help and to serve ; they could talk quite openly and naturally about things that we stored away in the secret places of the heart until we could not find them when we wanted them, because we had lost the key to our own treasury. They could gladly admit their mistakes and apologise for them ; they could openly make restitution if they had wronged anybody. And, the most obvious thing of all—they were happy ; there were no secret burdens weighing on their minds.

As I am trying to do what my friends have asked me and write some introductory words to this book, my thoughts go back to that first house party in Norway, ten years ago, to my wife whose great-hearted conception of hospitality, whose tremendous sense of humour, indomitable energy and sovereign disregard of and disbelief in difficulties and obstacles made those first house parties in Norway possible. My thoughts go to Frank Buchman, the catalyst who made possible the united church front in Norway in this war, my thoughts go to Frank, the untiring, open-hearted, smiling friend, in gratitude for all that he has been and done. We know that whenever we have been true to him we have been true to ourselves.

My thoughts go to all those who came—in curiosity, in disbelief, in suspicious longing. I see Freddie Ramm, whose life in the prisons of Germany burst through the walls of Nazism as a hymn of triumph. I see Ronald Fangen who came out a victor after two years of solitary confinement in dungeons and dark cells ; Bishop Berggrav, who was confined to a log cabin in the woods with his Gestapo bodyguard. I see men and women who were in concentration camps, some who have died, and

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some who have lived a dangerous life to the tune of "A Mighty Fortress is our God"—which some of them had never sung until they came to that house party at Hösbjör. To all of them Frank Buchman meant something important. Not all of them who came were changed—and we all need constant change—but all of them were in some way altered ; life was never again exactly what it had been before that experience.

The Germans decreed in Norway that the Oxford Group was a part of the British Intelligence Service and should be harshly suppressed—a most flattering and slightly ridiculous compliment to the British Intelligence Service. The Gestapo feared and hated the Oxford Group as they could never fear and hate the British Intelligence Service. They hated them as men hate and fear the ideals they have lost and prostituted, the faith they have betrayed. They feared them because instinctively they knew the Oxford Group was part of God's Intelligence Service preparing the way for an ultimate defeat of the principles of evil.

FRANK BUCHMAN

BY ALAN THORNHILL¹

"Today we see three ideologies battling for control. There is Fascism, and Communism, and then there is that great other ideology which is the heart of Christian democracy—Moral Re-Armament.

"We need to find an ideology that is big enough and complete enough to outmarch any of the other great ideologies. Until that time comes, men will flounder. They will not find their way.

"But when the Holy Spirit of God rules the hearts and lives of men, then we will begin to build the new world of tomorrow that all of us long to see."

DR FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN,

FRANK BUCHMAN stood amid the green, gently rolling hills of Pennsylvania. It is the countryside in which he was born and brought up, and it was the spot where his parents lie buried and where he himself hopes one day to rest. Gripped by deep emotion he stood for many minutes in silence. Then quietly he repeated to himself several times the words "I have been wonderfully led."

Many have set themselves to characterise the life and work of this man. Between them they have all but exhausted the vocabulary of love and loyalty and of hatred and prejudice as well. His own verdict on his life is strangely unaffected by either. It is always the same, "I have been wonderfully led."

The man who uses these words so simply and so naturally lives in the full mid-stream of the twentieth century. He loves

¹ Formerly Fellow and Chaplain of Hertford College, Oxford and author of the Moral Re-Armament industrial play *The Forgotten Factor*.

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humanity, not in the abstract but in the railway carriage. He can take up his abode in any one of thirty different capitals, and live and move among friends as though he had been there half his days. In countless homes, great and small, he is at home. He loves life because to him life is always people. He enjoys pleasures and he turns pain to rich account. To him every occasion from the simplest meal to the history-making event is something to be savoured and experienced and used to the very full, something to be woven into the texture of a great over-arching plan.

He is a man of his age ; yet no man has more vigorously countered the prevailing trends of his age. In an age of mass materialism he has fought to put people before things. In an age of self-seeking individualism he has demonstrated the effectiveness of selfless teamwork. In an age of Godless dictatorships he has rekindled the militant Christian heart of democracy.

For the full understanding of his work it is above all necessary to bear in mind two things. First : the key to it is to be found not in theory but in experience. How that experience first came to him is told, partly in his own words, at the end of this book.¹ How that experience has blossomed and borne fruit through the years the reader of this book will be able to judge for himself. The second point is this : for Frank Buchman a personal knowledge of Christ is not a thing to be folded away and secretly treasured ; it is to be put to work for others. "The best way to keep an experience of Christ is to pass it on," he says ; and he sees no limit to its effectiveness in a world where millions in every nation are athirst for spiritual reality.

Among the gifts bestowed on Frank Buchman is the rare ability to give his full heart to the individuals who surround him and at the same time always to maintain the perspective of national and world-wide needs. And the answer for one is

¹ See p. 188.

the answer for both. Saint Augustine once said that he never had any difficulty in believing in miracles since he had experienced the miracle of change in his own heart. For Frank Buchman there has never been the shadow of a doubt that the Power which changed him was able to change the world.

And so it is that in an age of revolutions he has fostered the greater revolution, which anticipates and answers all other revolutions by dealing radically and constructively with the hearts of men. In an age of ideologies he has given compelling expression to the one ideology which, because it answers the deepest needs in human nature, is as universal as human nature and so offers the one hope of unity to a torn and divided world.

The originator of the Oxford Group and of the programme of Moral Re-Armament was born on 4 June, 1878, in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania. His family was cradled and nurtured in a love of liberty. Two hundred years ago his Swiss ancestors left their home in St Gallen and sought freedom and opportunity in the youthful State of Pennsylvania. Today these thriving, thrifty "Pennsylvania Dutch" communities, with their trim farm houses and their gaily-painted barns, their spotless kitchens, and their lovingly tended churches and churchyards, still speak of generations brought up with Christian democracy in their blood. Here are folk who reverence God and love life.

Frank Buchman still likes to take his friends to the simple, dignified streets of Allentown and to show them his old home where as a boy he loved to paint pictures, plan fishing trips and above all entertain his friends. The Buchman home was always full of people, and even now, after so many years, if Frank returns on a visit, he will not be there more than an hour or two before old school friends and neighbours begin to drop in and call. Once, as a boy, Frank escorted twelve girls to a dance, not wanting any of them to miss the fun. Mary the cook used

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to say you never could tell how many there would be for dinner, because you never knew how many people Frank would meet in the street on his way home.

Shortly after graduating from Muhlenberg College, he went to live in the poorest part of Philadelphia and there founded a hospice for orphans and destitute boys. When, later on, he was appointed leader of Christian work in the State University of Pennsylvania, one of his best friends was Bill Pickle, the hard-drinking bootlegger, who not only changed his own ways but powerfully affected generations of students long after Buchman himself had left.

Everything he is and does springs out of an all-consuming care for people. "Have an intense preoccupation with the individual person," he would say to his early followers in Oxford. He has no use for the kind of Christian work that deals with crowds and masses, but neglects the individual. "It's no good throwing eye-medicine out of a second storey window," he says.

I have never met anyone who knows so quickly and so surely what is going on inside another person. In a room full of people he has an unerring eye for the one who specially needs help or encouragement, a stimulating challenge or maybe a drastic warning. I have gone to him expecting a rebuke for some serious mistake, only to get the warmth and welcome of a father and the complete understanding of a fellow-offender. I have equally gone to him expecting a pat on the back and received a well-merited dig in the ribs. Frank Buchman seldom gives a man what he expects, but nearly always what he needs. His understanding of men is a priceless gift and a costly one. "I asked God," he told me, "to make me super-sensitive to people. And there have been times when I have been tempted to wish I had never prayed that prayer." For to know men and women as they are, and yet to know what they can be, is

to be committed to a life-long human battle that demands endless sacrifice. He burns with impatience at the miserable picture that most of us have of the lives of our fellows, and the equally meagre vision we have for our own. And that applies to the clerk at the desk, to the cook in the kitchen and to the Cabinet Minister in the council chambers of State.

Once in Edinburgh he found himself at a dinner party next to an elderly lady who told him that after a life devoted to good works she was now "getting ready to die". "Ready to die!" said Buchman. "Why not start to live?" And it was that lady whose vision opened up the way for the work of the Oxford Group in Geneva and the League of Nations in the years between the wars.

In 1921 Frank Buchman was invited to Washington by a military member of the British delegation to meet delegates to the Disarmament Conference. Hopes were high that Pacts and Leagues would outlaw war. He was convinced that nothing would succeed unless the transforming power which he had seen at work in individuals be brought to nations. As he travelled on the night train to Washington, the conviction came to him to resign the comfortable University post which he held. Since then he has never drawn a salary nor had the security of a human position.

Three months later he returned to England, where he had previously been invited by two Anglican bishops. He had come to Oxford unheralded and unknown. One by one he had met people and made friends. He loved and understood that sceptical, restless, war-scarred generation. He listened to their theories about life and told them true stories about people. He answered arguments with experience. Some of the leading undergraduates of the University gathered around him. Many who had been problems to the authorities became partners in a new spirit.

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Prayer was publicly offered from a University pulpit giving thanks for the illumination that had come to Oxford.

In these early years his task was mainly that of choosing and training leadership. Men came to him for help, and stayed with him for life. His conception of Christian living was not measured by his own achievements but by the growth and quality of those around him. Where other men founded organisations he tended the growth of an organism. Others were exhorting the world with pronouncements. He encircled the world with a family. Then, as now, he bound no one to him by vows or commitments or by financial or other ties. Thousands were bound to him and to each other by unbreakable bonds of caring and loyalty. He issued no orders. Every man has the privilege of being personally guided by God.

Each year his work grew and spread from country to country. In 1928 several South African Rhodes Scholars and other Oxford students travelled to South Africa. They had something to say to the nation that came with the fire of personal conviction. Their visit was news. They were christened "The Oxford Group", the name which has since gone with them around the world. A larger group led by Dr Buchman himself returned the next year. Twelve years later, in 1941, though war had stirred the racial tensions in the country, the Hon. Jan H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance and right-hand man to General Smuts, and other prominent South Africans, wrote of that visit that it was "of national significance and started a major and continuing influence for racial reconciliation throughout the whole country, white and black, Dutch and British."

As the years passed his work took on new scope and even greater urgency. I remember walking with him on a golden English summer day in the early Thirties. I remarked on the beauty of some ancient buildings that we were passing. He broke in suddenly, "Yes, but in a few years, they will be gone—

unless we change." At the time I thought he was merely trying to startle me with a figure of speech. The tragedy is so many others thought so too.

Back and forth across the Atlantic, in America and Canada, in Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia and many other parts of the world, he travelled, working unceasingly. But he never travelled alone. Where he had once gone quietly with a handful of friends, now he was setting hundreds, even thousands of vital, propagating Christians on the move. He showed a general's genius for massing spiritual forces at the right place at the right time to make the greatest possible impact. With him the ordinary man found himself doing extraordinary things. Statesmen began acting like Christians. Christians like statesmen. To many a church leader he gave an entirely new conception of the familiar words "Like a mighty army moves the Church of God."

Few of his followers in those crowded years before the war realised the full significance of what, under Frank Buchman's leadership, they were being inspired to build. They hurriedly packed their bags and moved to and fro across the world. They lived in crowded streets and spacious homes. They addressed huge assemblies and their words were translated into many languages. Among them, as they worked and journeyed together, there might be an ex-agitator from East London or a lady-in-waiting to the Queen, a group of Army officers or Trade Union leaders, a courtly oriental philosopher or a raw, runabuncious American "teen-ager". It made no difference. They were all part of a world-wide family. They were a classless society. They were Christian democracy in action. They learnt the difference between the little things they could do alone and the magnificent things they might do together. With some pain as well as much joy they discovered the fascination and power of a team. "He is a big frog in a little pond," Frank Buchman would say of some worthy but inflated individualist. And, in a whimsical after-

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thought, he added once, "The Oxford Group is a big lake where a lamb can wade and an elephant can swim."

And all the time, while totalitarian forces were rising to conquer the earth, men of every colour and creed, under Frank Buchman's leadership, were actually learning and living and creating a great answering ideology. While harassed statesmen talked democracy, Buchman went around the world building it. While whole nations were being enslaved he worked and fought that whole nations be inspired. While the world piled up arms, he called and planned for moral and spiritual rearmament on as grand a scale. While many moaned that Christianity was failing, he brought to being a world-wide movement demonstrating the one embracing truth that Christianity works.

The spirit of these years is reflected in the preamble to the Articles of Incorporation of Moral Re-Armament in the United States :

Riches, reputation or rest have been for none of us the motives of association.

Our learning has been the truth as revealed by the Holy Spirit.

Our security has been the riches of God in Christ Jesus.

Our unity as a world-wide family has been in the leadership of the Holy Spirit and our love for one another.

Our joy comes in our common battle for a change of heart to restore God to leadership.

Our aim has been the establishment of God's Kingdom here on earth in the hearts and wills of men and women everywhere, the building of a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world.

Our reward has been in the fulfilment of God's Will.

War came, involving thousands of the men of Moral Re-Armament. While, like millions of others, they gave their

sweat and blood on battlefield and lonely outpost, they could also give a further thing, the fruit of their unique training.

Meanwhile others fought steadily on the home front. Passions run high in wartime, often obscuring the true nature of world trends. Those who spent the war years with Frank Buchman can witness to the unerring penetration with which time and again he saw through the immediate crisis to the greater issues lying beyond. Evidence of this is in his speeches of the period. They reveal a deep conviction that, far beyond the outcome of the armed struggle, the fate of democracy depended on the full mobilisation of the moral and spiritual strength which is hers by right. Only so could democracy outstrip the ideologies of materialism (whether of Berlin or of Moscow) and, purified and inspired, give peace and longed-for security to the people of the world.

Moral Re-Armament emerged from the war stronger than ever. Not that adverse criticism had at this or at any other time been lacking. How could it be otherwise? Frank Buchman's work had not only made complacent people uncomfortable, it had also flung a challenge to the forces of revolutionary materialism with their conscious and unconscious allies. No informed observer was surprised when the counter-attack came. A senior Army officer once analysed the type of opposition encountered by Moral Re-Armament. He noted that it drew fire equally from Nazis and Communists, from the extreme right and extreme left in politics, from aggressive atheists and narrow ecclesiastics. It had been charged with being both militaristic and pacifistic. Certain elements in labour denounced it as anti-union; certain elements in management as pro-union. "Nothing", this officer concluded, "but a potentially vast moral and spiritual reformation of global proportions could possibly be honoured by antagonisms so venomous and contradictory in character, and so world-wide in scope.

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Frank Buchman, while he has never courted criticism, has never feared it. His answer has been that, of Abraham Lincoln : "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in." He has believed that the only conclusive reply to criticism is the quality of his life's work ; and that since at the bar of history both he and his critics will be judged by their fruits, he has no reason to fear. Being Spirit-led his work cannot be cut off from its sources of power. Being vitally Christian it has been everywhere irrepressible. Its past record can be left to speak for itself. What is more important now is to understand its strategic role in the vast struggle that lies ahead.

One of the interesting aspects of Frank Buchman's work is the way in which he has been inspired to create and use ever new forms and patterns in which to express his message. In the more leisured, spacious days of ten to twenty years ago, there was the "House Party"—an informal gathering of friends in a hotel or college or large country house, where countless people who would never have darkened the door of a church found a practical, working faith in surroundings where they felt at home. Later there were the great national and world gatherings where many of the speeches in this book were delivered. In the crucial early war years there were round table conferences, where men of management and labour met in a new atmosphere and often found a new approach to old, embittered problems. These led to the great world assemblies and ideological training centres at Mackinac Island in the State of Michigan and at Caux in Switzerland.

Most men tend inevitably to develop their work along the lines of the things they themselves can do well. Buchman's work develops along the lines of the things which he can inspire others to do better. He does not now make many speeches. He

does not need to. All over the world through books, plays, films and other instruments, teams he has trained are winning men and nations to the Christian ideology.

Night by night all through the coldest, darkest winter on record he spoke to the leaders and people of Britain from a theatre stage, when 93,000 came to the Westminster Theatre to see *The Forgotten Factor*, a simple graphic story of homes and industry. They saw more than a play. They saw a national force in action. As Britain grimly fought her life and death battle for coal, miners spoke nightly before the curtain to introduce the play as the answer for the coal industry. The cast moved out to the great industrial areas. They played within a stone's throw of the pit-heads. Workers and management crammed the doors. And time and again new figures on the production charts reflected new hope and a new heart in the mines.

He speaks today to the youth of America through a group of teen-agers, boys and girls who have travelled with him across the length and breadth of the continent, who have written and produced their own play and their own film to answer the problems of their generation and show the new world their generation can create. In city after city they have been welcomed and supported by mayors and city councillors and educational authorities. With this backing they have brought their message to hundreds of schools, affecting the lives of whole communities.

These varied developments of Frank Buchman's work reveal a mind free from the trammels of convention and precedent and a rare quality of self-effacing leadership. But there is something more—one constant element on which it all rests—a real, infectious and growing knowledge of the power of God. This is the essential equipment for anyone, be he teen-ager or octogenarian, who takes his place beside Frank Buchman on the world-wide battlefield.

Countless lives have been lit on their way by occasional flashes

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of divine illumination. Many have followed a star. But for Frank Buchman it would be more truthful to say that the detailed, constant, accurate leading of God is as natural and powerful as daylight. It comes to him fresh every morning, like the sunrise—as welcome and as inevitable. No man would more readily admit that he is fallible, that he like other men can miss the way. He would claim nothing for himself that is not available to everyone. Yet no man, perhaps, in our generation has accepted so completely the guidance of God as the be-all and end-all of living, as the golden thread running through every day.

The speeches in this volume were all made within the span of a dozen years. Written for widely differing occasions, and delivered against the fast-changing background of some of the most dramatic years in the world's history, they none the less make up a coherent whole.

It might be claimed that by virtue of his personal achievement Frank Buchman had earned the right to speak to the men and women of today. But it is less by virtue of what he has done that he commands attention than by the burning relevance of what he has to say. For in these days powerful ideologies, many of them as seductive as they are false, are fighting a determined battle for the hearts and minds of men. They begin by affirming their belief in man and man alone. They end by despising and betraying him. They promise him liberty and give him regimentation. "Man is so great," they say, "that he can do without God." Soon man is so helpless that he cannot do without dictators. "Dispense with the ten commandments of God," they tell him. Soon he is saddled with the ten thousand commandments of men.

Into this confusion of half truths Frank Buchman comes with a message of trenchant simplicity, a message backed by a sensitive

understanding of human nature and by an ever-relevant experience of the transforming power of Christ. The words he uses are for the most part simple words ; it is the language of every day. The truths he utters, too, are simple ; but they are the truths by virtue of which the world may come to salvation and sanity in our lifetime or for lack of which our civilisation may perish for ever from the earth.

I

THE RISING TIDE

The cause of the world's state is not economic ; the cause is moral. It is there where the evil lies. It is the want of religion which we ought to possess. If I may use a phrase which is common in a great movement which is taking place at this moment in this country and elsewhere, what you want are God-guided personalities, which make God-guided nationalities, to make a new world. All other ideas of economic adjustment are too small really to touch the centre of the evil.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

Speaking in the House of Lords

During the decade following the first world war, the leadership of the Oxford Group was being drawn from universities on both sides of the Atlantic, and especially from Oxford. In Oxford, each year from 1930 onwards, gatherings were held where people met and experienced the quality of life for which the Group stands. The informal character of these assemblies was maintained in later years even when the number of guests rose to many thousands.

In 1934 forty-five countries were represented, including the United States, South Africa, Australia and the Far East, as well as most of the countries of Europe. A large delegation came from Canada where a recent visit of the Group had met with such response that Mr R. B. Bennett, the Prime Minister, had stated, "The work you are doing has made the task of government easier and your influence has been felt in every village and city, even in the remotest outposts of the Dominion."

At this gathering the aims of the Oxford Group were given by Dr Buchman in a statement which follows

THE OXFORD GROUP— A CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION

THE OXFORD GROUP is a Christian revolution, whose concern is vital Christianity. Its aim is a new social order under the dictatorship of the Spirit of God, making for better human relationships, for unselfish co-operation, for cleaner business, cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonisms.

A new spirit is abroad in the world today. A new illumination can come to everyone and bring men and women of every creed and social stratum back to the basic principles of the Christian faith, enhancing all their primary loyalties. The solution of our difficulties must come from such a spirit rising from within people.

Leaders in all walks of life are now convinced that our hope rests in a change of heart. One sees abundant evidence of this throughout the Empire. World-changing will come through life-changing.

To bring about this new world order the Oxford Group believes that a world-wide spiritual awakening is the only hope.

Upon a foundation of changed lives permanent reconstruction is assured. Apart from changed lives no civilisation can endure.

Dr B. H. Streeter, Provost of the Queen's College, was one of the senior members of Oxford University attending this assembly. He had followed the progress of the Oxford Group for several years. Speaking before many of his colleagues at a meeting in Oxford Town Hall in July, 1934, he said:

I have been watching this movement more particularly during the last two and a half years. Hitherto my attitude towards it has been what diplomatists call 'a benevolent neutrality'. In speaking to some of my friends I have compared this attitude to that taken up towards the early Church by Gamaliel—that most amiable of the Pharisees.

The reason I have come here tonight is to say publicly that I have decided that I ought now to cease from an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards what I have come to believe is the most important religious movement of today.

During these same last two and a half years I have been also watching the world situation, and have felt it becoming more and more one full of depression, full of despair. There is a great deal of goodwill; but there is not enough of it to solve our tremendous problems—war, class war, economic breakdown. And the men of goodwill are losing heart. They are carrying on, but with lessening hope. And, speaking broadly, the churches have been losing heart.

- This movement seems to be able, not merely to change some bad people into good, but also to give new heart and a new courage and a new sense of direction to those who are already men of goodwill. That is why I have come to the conclusion that in an age of growing world despair it is my duty to associate myself with this movement.

May I add that I come to the Group, not as a person with perhaps some little reputation in his own sphere of study, or as the head of an Oxford College; I come as one who has already learned something from the Group, and hopes to learn more; and who hopes that by so doing he may be of a little more use than might otherwise have been the case.

At a meeting in the British House of Commons for Members of Parliament to hear Oxford Group speakers, the Hon. C. J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament, invited Dr Frank Buchman to visit Norway.

In November, 1934, Mr Hambro invited 120 Norwegian national leaders to meet with Dr Buchman and thirty of his workers at Høshjør, near Oslo. So great was the interest, however, that over 1,200 came. Among them were Bishop Berggrav, now Primate of Norway; Mr Johan Mellbye, leader of the Farmers' Party; Ronald Fangen, novelist and playwright, President of the Norwegian Authors' Association; Professor Mowinkel and others outstanding in industry, education and politics.

A few weeks later, following campaigns in Oslo and other cities, an article in Tidens Tegn, the Oslo daily, stated, "A handful of foreigners, who neither knew our language nor understood our ways and customs, came to this country. . . . A few days later the whole country was talking about God, and two months after the thirty foreigners arrived, the mental outlook of the whole country has definitely changed."

The Spectator stated in an article :

A national awakening has sprung to life in eight weeks in a country where, according to one of the bishops, ninety per cent. of the people did not attend the churches. It has come about through ordinary people. It has abundantly revealed that social regeneration comes as the fruit of changed lives.

Four professors of the University of Oslo have summarised their convictions in the following words : "Your visit will be the deciding factor for the history of Norway. You have come at the strategic moment with the right answer."

NORWAY ABLAZE !

In March, 1935, on the return of the first all-Norwegian group from a two weeks' campaign in Trondheim, Dr Buchman spoke to a crowded meeting in Oslo City Hall and described the response throughout Norway.

FIVE MONTHS AGO we started in this hall. Think of the wonderful working power of God in those five months. You have seen some of it tonight. Doctors have spoken, business men, students. Think what it would mean to you if some of these young people had been your own sons and daughters. Now multiply that throughout a country like this.

Before I landed in Norway it came to me constantly in my quiet times, "Norway ablaze for Christ." Illumination has come to Norway.

In the earlier days some of you who are sitting here now thought of this as a revival. I believe in the necessity of revival. But in these days we need more than revival. The present age needs revolution. Many who have travelled with us in this country say that they have seen a movement that has gone beyond revival ; it has been revolution.

I believe a third stage is coming in Norway—renaissance.

Turn your minds back to the things which followed the re-awakening at the close of the Middle Ages. That can happen again in Norway today.

I have just been three days' journey away from Norway. I found Norwegians there. The message had reached them. Putting it their own way, they said, "We must go 'Oxford'." I have heard of Norwegian sailors changing English sailors in Liverpool. Today I was reading one of the leading papers of Latvia. It had long accounts of miracles in Norway. I have just travelled twice through Europe. In many papers there is news

of what is happening here. A light has started in Norway, and they are reading about it in the nations.

You have heard the truth tonight. The time has come for action. Here is the challenge—a challenge to the will: “Give me twelve men who are wholly surrendered to God and I will convert the world.” The man who wrote that was a Christian statesman; and the qualifications he asked for were these:

To give and not to count the cost;
To fight and not to heed the wounds;
To toil and not to seek for rest;
To labour and not to ask for any reward
Save that of knowing that we do Thy Will.

That challenge is clear. It was a call to twelve men. There are twelve hundred here tonight. What will twelve hundred do?

What could twelve hundred do in Trondheim? Think what forty men, surrendered to the living God, have just done in that city! The Dean said he would never have dreamt that what happened in Trondheim was possible. Some who were sitting at that first Oslo meeting will be saying that they would never have dreamt that what has happened in Norway was possible. Norway has been illuminated. The living Christ has been at work in many lives. You feel the influence in Denmark. You feel the influence in your neighbour Sweden. You feel it in England. You feel it on the Continent.

But you have only begun. Five months! . . . Five years?

Every person changed? Every business? Whole cities getting direction? Politics? And Parliament? A nation listening to God? International relationships?

May I ask you as you go home tonight to begin to read the seventh chapter of Jeremiah, starting at the twenty-third verse. He is a prophet with a message for modern people. Begin with the seventh chapter, and then study the whole, because you have

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to have in your minds a framework for the rebuilding of a nation.

Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God,
and ye shall be my people ; and walk ye in the way
that I command you, that it may be well with you.

Jeremiah's nation "hearkened not" and so "they went backward and not forward". That was a tragedy. But it is not true of Norway. I believe that we shall say of Norway, "This is the nation that *hath* hearkened to the voice of the Lord their God."

I believe that Norway *will* be ablaze for Christ. I believe that Norway *will* take this message to other countries. I believe the Revolution *will* be a Renaissance.

Note. Ten years later, in April, 1945, Bishop Arne Fjellbu of Trondheim said in an address in St Martin-in-the-Fields, London: "I wish to state publicly that the foundations of united resistance of Norwegian Churchmen to Nazism were laid by the Oxford Group's work." Later, in a press interview, Bishop Fjellbu, who took a leading part in Norway's resistance throughout the war, added: "The first coming of the Oxford Group to Norway was an intervention of Providence in history, like Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain. . . . They helped to bridge the gap between religion and the people and make it real every day. We have been fighting more than an armed enemy. We have been fighting godless materialism. The Oxford Group gave us men who helped us to fight for a Christian ideology."

Denmark—1935

Among the first Norwegians to accept the challenge of the Oxford Group was Fredrik Ramm, a well-known newspaperman, only journalist to accompany Amundsen on his flight over the North Pole. The decision of the International Court of Justice at the Hague in favour of Denmark, in the dispute with Norway over the Greenland fisheries, had left in Ramm's mind an intense bitterness against Denmark. He became notorious throughout Scandinavia for the violence of his writing on this question.

In January, 1935, he travelled to Denmark. Dagens Nyheder, Copenhagen daily (14 January, 1935), described his new attitude in a press interview :

"The main thing I am here to tell you is that my greatest fault was the hatred of the Danes. My mind was poisoned with that hatred. I used my pen as well as I could in the service of my hatred and justified myself as an idealist.

"Then I met the Oxford Group with its challenging quality of life. . . . Now I am here to put things right with my old enemies."

In March Copenhagen opened its doors wide to the Oxford Group. 35,000 people attended meetings in eight days. A three months' campaign culminated in a national demonstration on Whit Sunday, 1935, in Kronborg, Hamlet's castle of Elsinore. The occasion is described by Carl Henrik Clemmensen¹ in an article in Dagens Nyheder (10 June, 1935) :

I am sitting late into the night and thinking of everything that happened. I can see the whole review passing again before my eyes. I can see the endless stream of people pouring in over the small bridges across the moats and ramparts. I can hear again the swelling wave of song from the thousands of voices rising and falling like a sea between the bright courtyard walls, with their lofty green copper roofs, like a fine delicate pastel high up against the blue summer sky. . . .

¹ See also p. 195.

Twenty years ago there was an unknown man who determined, in God's name, to change the world by changing the lives of the people who composed it. The beginnings were small. . . . Today, Whit Sunday, the same man stood in Kronborg Castle and spoke through Denmark to the whole of Europe. With him on the platform sat a loyal host of his whole-hearted fellow workers who travel up and down the world with him, men and women of many different nations. Here, too, on the platform were the Danish Cabinet Minister for Church Affairs with his family, a declared supporter of the movement, and the Bishop of Copenhagen, who ended the meeting, deeply moved, by expressing to Frank Buchman the grateful thanks of the Danish Church.

Here was the whole castle courtyard packed as it had never been at any meeting hitherto, although only a small proportion could get seats. All ages were represented here, every party, every class, every stratum of society. There must have been more than ten thousand people in the courtyard itself and thousands more on the bastions—a real mass demonstration on an impressive scale. . . .

Frank Buchman can point to the lives of thousands in every corner of the globe who have definitely been changed through him; people who now in their turn have been mobilised as life-changers. The stone is thrown into the water, the circles spread out, growing wider and wider. I have heard of nothing else like it in our age. Other contemporary movements have conquered nations. This man had the determined vision of the conquest of the world. . . .

Think of the other remarkable things that happened at this meeting: the distinguished actor-manager who stepped up on the platform and in his clear ringing voice read the story of the first Whit Sunday from the Acts of the Apostles; the butcher from Nyborg, and the saddle-maker from Copenhagen, who stood side by side with the young Count and the Dean and witnessed to the new life they had found through the Oxford Group; a young concert singer from Finland in her beautiful gay national dress, who told us that she understood now for the first time what the real purpose of her singing could be, and then sang Bach's triumphant "Hallelujah" which rang out like the song of a bird over the great courtyard; and last of all the moment just after the Bishop of Copenhagen had pronounced the benediction, when the huge crowd stood there for an instant in hopes of getting still something more. Movement, like a wave swelling through the crowd,

the confused sound of many voices, a woman's voice calling to a friend. . . . Then suddenly a few people begin to sing Ingemann's "Pilgrim Song", and everyone stands still, bare-headed, joining in the singing.

What stands out in one's memory afterwards? The vision of Frank Buchman's opening challenge to Denmark to listen, as a nation, to the voice of the living God, and to hand on its message to the whole of the rest of the world; and his glowing appeal to Denmark to become the peacemaker in the international family.

A fair-haired, broad-shouldered man, with an infectious smile, who stands on the rostrum and says in ringing Norwegian, "My name is Erling Wikborg. I am a barrister of the Supreme Court in Oslo." Then he goes on to tell us about the negative attitude to life in the intellectual atmosphere in which he was brought up, and how he discovered a new life with a new will, new power and a freedom and a happiness which he had never known before. . . .

During Professor Runestam's weighty contribution I sat and reminded myself that this was the son-in-law of Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, who on his very deathbed gave his blessing to the Oxford Group. And last of all came the Dean of Copenhagen, Dr Paul Brodersen, tall and strong, burning with zeal to proclaim in as personally stimulating and challenging a way as possible the message of the spiritual revolution which this movement means to the whole Danish people.

"Live out your faith in your life!" he cried. "Live it out so that it can show others the way, and march in step to bring this new illumination to our people!"

Dr Buchman's speech at this demonstration follows.

GOD CALLING THE WORLD

IN COPENHAGEN on Jubilee Day I heard London calling the British Empire. People in far corners of the world heard the same message. In Singapore, Ottawa, Cape Town, Melbourne, Hong Kong and hundreds of other cities and villages, millions were listening in.

Today all Scandinavia is listening in to the broadcast of a Whitsun demonstration in the Castle of Kronborg, where the waters of Sweden and Denmark meet. Newspapers the world over are featuring it. From Riga to San Francisco and from Iceland to South Africa there are eager listeners.

By a miracle of science millions can think and feel as one. Barriers of time and space are swept away. A commonwealth of many nations and languages becomes a family.

Radio listeners understand that miracle. And they will also understand the Oxford Group, which is showing people how to listen in to God.

"God calling the world" is becoming a daily experience in the lives of hundreds and thousands of people in the more than fifty countries where the Oxford Group is at work.

We accept as a commonplace a man's voice carried by radio to the uttermost parts of the earth. Why not the voice of the living God as an active, creative force in every home, every business, every parliament?

Men listen to a king when he speaks to his people over the air. Why not to the King of Kings? He is alive, and constantly broadcasting.

Norway listened in, and in the words of one of her leading editors, "The whole mental outlook of the country changed."

Canada listened in, and the Prime Minister said that the message had made his task of government easier, and that its influence has been felt in every town and village in the Dominion. South Africa listened in, and racial unity began to come in a country torn by decades of racial strife.

What might not happen if Denmark also listened to the perfect programme of the King of Kings ?

At the first Whitsun God spoke to a group of ordinary men. They changed the course of history. May He not today have a plan which can solve the problems of a troubled world ?

The Holy Spirit is the most intelligent source of information in the world today. He has the answer to every problem. Everywhere when men will let Him, He is teaching them how to live.

The world needs a miracle. Miracles of science have been the wonder of the age. But they have not brought peace and happiness to the nations. A miracle of the Spirit is what we need.

Divine guidance must become the normal experience of ordinary men and women. Any man can pick up divine messages if he will put his receiving set in order. Definite, accurate, adequate information can come from the Mind of God to the minds of men. This is normal prayer.

There must come a spiritual dynamic which will change human nature and remake men and nations. There must come a spiritual authority which will be accepted everywhere by everyone. Only so will order come out of chaos in national and international affairs.

If this miracle is to come into the world some nation must give a lead. Some nation must find God's Will as her destiny and God-guided men as her representatives at home and abroad.

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Some nation must produce a new leadership, free from the bondage of fear, rising above ambition, and flexible to the direction of God's Holy Spirit.

Such a nation will be at peace within itself, and a peacemaker in the international family. Will it be your nation ?

SPEARHEAD OF A WORLD ANSWER

In July, 1935, a large delegation came from the Scandinavian countries to the international gathering at Oxford, which was attended by 10,000 people from many nations. They returned to Denmark with British and American leaders of the Group, and moved, 600 strong, into Jutland. Before their departure, on 28 July, Dr Buchman addressed the Assembly :

BRIEFLY AND SIMPLY at the close of this marvellous month of fellowship with this family of many nations, I want to try and show the secret that lies back of this miracle-working power of the living God. It seemed to me, as these hundreds came up together to offer themselves for national service, that they were like a spearhead, an arrow, pointing to the solution for a world in chaos.

If I could sum it up in a sentence—the simple secret is this : individual lives, wholly surrendered to the living God.

There is a bishop at my side who in 1921 was the human instrument that brought this work to Oxford, and the man who presided today was the man in whose rooms at Christ Church this work began. In many countries a stream of life has begun.

I want to speak now to the ordinary person. I have in mind a woman of seventy. She thought her life's work was ended—but I hope that you will catch the vision that came to her. She saw that, in fact, she was only beginning. She went to Geneva. She arranged for one hundred of us to come, and a mighty work began.

Two years ago at a luncheon given in Geneva for the Oxford Group, the President of the Norwegian Parliament made a

statement. The guests were leaving when he did a most unusual thing. He called them back and said, "I feel today we have heard something more important than most things on the agenda of the League in Geneva."

He took courageous action. Later he spoke in Westminster, in the Parliament buildings, to one hundred and twenty-five members of Parliament, and there invited the Oxford Group to come to Norway.

In October last year thirty men crossed over into Norway. Humanly it seemed absolutely absurd that thirty foreigners who knew nothing of the customs or the language, and had only a few friends there, should be the instrument of the living God so that today Norway is ablaze for Christ.

A bishop came to the house party in those early days. His two sons looked to Communism for an answer. Those two sons came into a living experience of Christ. They became flaming apostles.

The newspapers are alive with the news of the new world order. The leading paper in Oslo, when there was news of many lives changed, gave more space to that kind of news than had ever been given before. It was good news, the news that Norway wanted.

The movement went to Denmark. Now, again, more than 300 of you in addition to 300 Danes are moving into Jutland. We are accustomed to read about the Battle of Jutland. We are going to hear of a new battle, and the guidance that comes is that Denmark will be shaken.

What is the philosophy back of all this? Are we beginning to see that not only individuals, but cities and nations may be different? Illumination has come to Norway; illumination has come to Denmark, to Latvia, to Estonia, to Sweden, to Finland.

Think of the significance of God-controlled, spiritually

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illuminated nations. Suppose that God-control becomes the policy of all these Nordic countries—what will that mean for Europe ?

These are not simply my own words. Bishops are speaking of it, statesmen, the editors of newspapers. They see, pervading the whole, a new spirit among nations and people.

Now, frankly, let us be honest with ourselves. How many of us really believe that Jesus Christ is the answer ? How many of us really believe that if there was a mighty awakening of the living Spirit of God, that would be the answer ? Statesmen sometimes take the risk and say it. One statesman said it to a group of newspaper men : "We need a moral and spiritual renaissance." It was flashed across the country, but I see no demonstration in that country of a moral or a spiritual renaissance.

Now we turn to the ordinary people. Could a quiet army of ordinary people, God-controlled, God-directed and God-illuminated, be a force in a country, changing that community so that political leaders would live in harmony and peace, so that parliaments would be God-guided and governments God-controlled ?

Is that your vision for the future ? If that is your vision, then I think we can indeed begin to sing :

Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God ;
Brothers, we are treading
Where the saints have trod.

Can that come in England ? Can this group answer the needs of people in the depressed areas ? Is God the answer ? Can a group of people move up and down this land, as they moved up and down Norway and Denmark, with the living Spirit of God as the answer ?

Jutland

Denmark gave a warm welcome to the teams which visited Jutland. Emil Blytgen-Petersen, then London correspondent of Dagens Nyheder, wrote in his book Oxford i Danmark :

In the month of August the Oxford Group swept over the peninsula like a sand-storm. They say the Jutlanders are sober and hard to move, yet they came in thousands to Aalborg, Sonderborg and Aarhus....

At Aarhus the great tennis hall was filled by seven thousand people a night for four nights. The meetings ended with a mighty demonstration in the cathedral, overflowing into and filling the cathedral square.

*Bertlingske Tidende (Copenhagen, 20 August, 1935)
printed an interview with the Primate of Denmark, Bishop
Fuglsang-Damgaard, on the work of the Oxford Group :*

The Bishop of Copenhagen is in Aarhus, just at this time when the Oxford Group is daily gathering thousands to its meetings there. Sitting in the shadow of the beautiful old vicarage behind the cathedral, he told me what these last months have meant to him personally and to the Danish Church. Every word he spoke is alive with this experience :

"I cannot say that the Oxford Group has made me a believer. I have been that from my earliest days.... But whereas I knew from God's word that everything we do is permeated by selfishness, the Oxford Group has shown me that I was seeking to glorify myself when I thought I was working for the glory of God. Above all, it has opened my eyes to that gift of God which is called Christian fellowship, and which I have experienced in this group to which I now belong. And it has shown me the blessing which is found in 'sharing' with another person. When I shared, my heart experienced the joy and peace for which, deep in my heart, I have always longed."

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"It is a fact that intellectuals and workers have in great measure been estranged from the Church. Inside the Church we have often discussed this problem. The Oxford Group has shown us the answer.

"For many years it has been a serious problem how we should combat the growing number of divorces. Now we hear married couples tell one after another how they have found new life together.

"The Oxford Group seeks to be living Christianity. That does not mean that it has no doctrine. It builds on the accomplished work of Jesus Christ as set forth in the New Testament. Its aim is to bring to life and make real for each person the articles of faith with which his own Church provides him."

Dr Streeter was among those from Britain who took an active part in the Jutland campaign. He wrote later of his visits to Denmark :¹

I went with the Group to Denmark three times, and what I saw there convinced me that the movement was not merely an instrument of moral rebirth and psychological liberation for individuals, but was capable of moving nations as such by initiating a new mental attitude in economic and political conflicts. On the first occasion, the work was done by persons from some twenty different countries. . . . On the second occasion, in August, half the work was done by Danes who had come into the Group in the previous April. On the third occasion the initiative had passed to the Danes themselves. That is to say, within the year the Oxford Group had become in Denmark a national force under Danish leadership.

Evidence accumulated of the effect on the conduct of everyday life. . . . Thus in one country in Europe, in the space of one year, there has been born a new spirit in facing the conflicts which threatened the collapse of civilisation.

¹ See "Civilisation's Need is Moral," by Dr B. H. Streeter, p. 205.

ONE HEART, ONE WILL, ONE GOAL

In September, 1935, the President of the Swiss Confederation, M. Rudolf Minger, officially welcomed the Oxford Group to Switzerland. In Geneva the President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Dr Edouard Benes, gave a luncheon for delegates to meet them. A few days later in Zürich, on 6 October, Dr Buchman made the speech which follows :

TWO DAYS AGO in Zürich, as I read the news of the war in Abyssinia, I thought, "Has Christianity after all the answer? Is the answer a Dictatorship of the Holy Spirit? Is the answer a spiritual mobilisation for Europe?"

Your President says it is. I quote from his recent statement : "Is there any release to be found from this dilemma? The answer is a courageous 'Yes'. What is needed is the changing of lives through new spiritual power so strong that it reconciles dangerous conflicting forces and produces brotherhood and solidarity. It is in attaining this goal that the Oxford Group sees its task. Their next advance will take place on Swiss soil and will make a real contribution in reconciling the nations. The initial work of the movement has been great with promise and we wish it every success and triumph."

Switzerland has welcomed the Oxford Group. She did more than welcome it. Thousands of her people have made its life their own.

But Switzerland, I believe, will do more than this.

God is calling Switzerland to conquering Christianity. God is speaking to her in the spirit of the New Testament : "You are the consecrated nation, the people who belong to Him,

that you may proclaim the wondrous deeds of Him who has called you."

I can see Switzerland a prophet among the nations, and a peacemaker in the international family. I can see vital Christianity becoming the controlling force of the State through individual responsibility to God. I can see the Church in Switzerland in such power that she sends out a mission to Christians in many lands. I can see Swiss business men showing the leaders of the world's commerce how faith in God is the only security. I can see Swiss statesmen demonstrating that divine guidance is the only practical politics. And I can see the Swiss press as a powerful example of what a press should be—the herald of a new world order.

One man changed. A million changed. A nation changed. That is the programme of the Oxford Group.

A statesman has said that the Oxford Group is supernational. Nationalism can unite a country. Supernationalism can unite a world. God-controlled supernationalism is the only sure foundation for world peace.

There are four million people in your country. Four million people listening to God? Four million people—one heart, one will, one goal. A spiritual mobilisation for Switzerland? A spiritual mobilisation for Europe?

The world is waiting to see what the Prince of Peace can do in, for, and by one nation entirely given to Him.

Will Switzerland be that nation?

In Switzerland, as the Abyssinian crisis deepened at Geneva, a national campaign met with wide popular response which was described in The Spectator (18 October, 1935) :

On 23 September, a luncheon was given by the President of the Assembly, to delegates of that Assembly and others to meet members of the Group team. At this luncheon the two world movements met—the powers of the League in session, facing a decisive moment in history, and a movement of the spirit which has likewise encircled the world drawing in representatives of as many nations as send delegates to the League. Two prime ministers, thirty-two ministers plenipotentiary and many other representatives of the political wisdom of the world sat down with a band of volunteers who claim that God supplies wisdom to those who listen for it. On the one hand was the wisdom of the world, trembling lest its counsels should have to end in the resort to war, on the other the faith that human nature can be changed, that the old doctrine that man is capable of redemption is still true and is being demonstrated before our eyes.

In Switzerland, as in other countries, there is evidence of a moral and spiritual awakening which, as well as bringing new life to the churches, is raising up leadership adequate to modern problems and lifting public opinion to a new level. The President twice received leaders of the team, and talked with them about the relation of the work of the Group to the problems of his country. The Group also met with the different Parliamentary leaders as well as the chiefs of various Cantonal and civic governments.

In Geneva, the city's doctors were invited by the President of their Association to meet with Swiss and other medical men of the international team at a dinner presided over by one of the country's principal psychiatrists ; and three hundred hoteliers came together to hear especially some of their own number who had found for themselves and their employees the effect of a new quality of life on their work. Meetings of unemployed, of heads and professors of the University, invitations to homes throughout the city, were all indicative of the immense popular interest, as were the public meetings themselves, which in one night overflowed the Cathedral of John

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Calvin and one of the largest halls. At the height of the Italo-Abyssinian crisis the *Journal de Genève* gave four pages of its evening and morning editions to a special supplement dealing exclusively with the work of the Oxford Group.

Behind these public manifestations lies the real work of the Group. All day members of the team are sharing with individuals the inner victories that have been given them. That is the genius of the Group, to make known from concrete and undeniable first-hand experience what willing acceptance of God's gift to man has done for him.

The spiritual revolution proclaimed by the Group is one already being realised in the lives of its members. . . . Nothing but a working conviction of eternal principles can carry statesmen over the stumbling-blocks of present political values, and such a conviction endures when it is based in an inner certainty of life rooted in God and subject without any reserved areas to God's control.

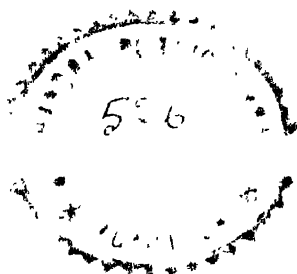
Two Years Later

*From a "Review of the Year—Switzerland in 1937"
issued by the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, January, 1938 :*

This has been a typical year of transition in which many different projects have been undertaken. Two ideas, however, have strongly influenced public opinion over a period of time. One we have already taken as the theme of the year—the return to strong constitutionalism. The other we may perhaps call "agreement." Feelers have been extended ; reconnaissance parties sent out ; the spirit of the Oxford Group has been brought into politics and the results are considerable. Something is really under way. In comparison with the years 1933 and 1934, the tendency to division and separation has given way to an opposite tide of feeling ; and 1938 can bring to fruition all the possibilities of unification.

In November, 1935, Dr Buchman spoke in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on the new spirit arising in the Scandinavian countries.

He was preceded by the President of the Norwegian Parliament who had recently said, "I arranged the first big house party in Norway. What happened at that house party went beyond any expectations, and the work has been spreading in Norway ever since and hundreds and thousands of lives have been changed. The influence of lives changed through the Group is felt in every district of Norway. The Oxford Group has also conquered Denmark in a way that none of us would have thought possible."



MIRACLES IN THE NORTH

Metropolitan Opera House, New York, 20 November, 1935

THERE IS A BOOK in the store windows in London and New York. The title is *It Can't Happen Here*.

Some of you who read the very important word of the Secretary of State, "Our own country urgently needs a moral and spiritual awakening," may have said the same thing, "It can't happen here."

Before I sailed from London, I saw headlined in the great London newspapers another important word from Mr Hull, that the instant need of America is for flaming apostles. It seems an extravagant word. But is it an impossible thing that this country needs flaming apostles?

To be quite frank, people today are afraid of the word "spiritual". Just plainly nervous. You can imagine what our friend Mr Hambro felt like when he invited thirty Oxford Group workers to cross the sea to Norway—and what I felt like!

Think of it. Thirty ordinary men and women who did not know the language or the customs of the country. Every word we spoke in public meetings in Norway had to be interpreted sentence by sentence. But, even with that handicap of language, the great thought broke through. As our friend has told you—a reality in a little more than a year—Norway is ablaze for Christ.

Now let us find out how. There was high courage there. I think if you would attempt it, too, you would realise how high that courage was. Mr Hambro invited 125 of his friends to live with us for ten days. It was a daring thing to do.

Miracles of change began to happen. The first of the two men he referred to—the author—was a widely known agnostic. He

came with two bottles of Scotch and a novel. As he said, he never had time to read his novel and he forgot the Scotch. He lived with us for ten days and was changed. Now he has written the most important book of his life, *A World Christian Revolution*. See how highly productive, how creative a time like that can be !

There is great truth in that title. I believe it is what every country needs—a world Christian revolution. That man has become a Christian revolutionary. That is miracle number one.

The second miracle is a newspaper editor. He had flown with Amundsen over the North Pole. He hated the Danes because of the dispute over Greenland, and through his position as a newspaper editor he unhesitatingly told Norway and the Danes what his feelings were. As he said, he was a Dane-hater. But he was soundly changed. I heard him in Denmark make open apology over the radio to the Danish people. Think what it means for one man to go to another country and not only admit his hates and his defeats, but share his victories. See the whole new understanding which comes between nations.

People usually said to us in Norway, "It will never reach the farmers." (And anyone today who thinks of national awakening for America must think of the farmers of Iowa.) But at that gathering the leader of the Farmers' Party was actually present. He became a national spokesman for a new spirit to the farmers of Norway.

Now, the Danes have a pleasant land and are a pleasant people. If there are any Danes here tonight, I want to say I know of no country where one feels so instantly at home—such charming hospitality. And the Danes have a keen sense of humour. But for years they have been living under the influence of an atheistic philosophy. Everyone said they would make fun of the Oxford Group. They said we might succeed for a week. But even the leading comedian couldn't get a laugh at our expense in the theatre.

Somebody asked me about the workers. Well some people tried to put on an anti-Oxford Group meeting. The changed workers of Copenhagen took over the meeting. They simply described the change that had taken place in their lives. The newspapers came out with big headlines: "ANTI-OXFORD GROUP MEETING A COLOSSAL FIASCO"—and this in the country where we were told *we* might be laughed out of court.

My guidance for those days was this, "Denmark shaken, Denmark shaken !" And that old country has certainly been shaken. You feel it in every department of life—not only the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker, but the intellectuals of the country. Tonight in Viborg, the judges, the barristers and the lawyers, the intelligentsia, are witnessing to the positive power of Jesus Christ. People who were confirmed atheists six months ago are intelligent life-changers today.

Do you wonder that in that country of Denmark twenty-five thousand people gathered together a few weeks ago in a single Oxford Group meeting ?

The man who led that meeting was the Dean of Copenhagen Cathedral. He interpreted for me the first night. Today the Dean is a flaming apostle. He recently spoke at the Cathedral ceremony which opens the sessions of the Danish Parliament. Have you ever thought of a sermon having three columns on the front page of any newspaper in New York ? Well, the Danish press has much the same sense of news values, yet there were three columns on the front pages of the newspapers, three columns on the sermon preached by the Dean.

I heard today from Copenhagen that the Primate had spoken to a conference in Paris with a prophet note. Is that not what our Secretary of State said America needed—the prophet note ? The Primate had been present at our first public meeting in Denmark. Now the nation hears a prophet note from a Primate, a Dean, a saddler, a butcher, workers, business men.

A country gripped, a country shaken. Let's think of the philosophy of it—one man changed ; a million changed ; a nation changed.

This is a challenge to every one of you tonight—not merely coming to a meeting. Meetings are not going to change the world. Tonight is only the beginning, and I trust that every one of you will respond to its high challenge. Thirty men, ordinary men, cross the sea a year ago to Norway and illumination comes to that country. A thousand people go to Denmark and an awakening comes to that country.

Think of Switzerland. Tonight I read in the newspaper of a distinguished Swiss. He is perhaps the most cautious man I know. He is like the Scot who always looked both ways when crossing a one-way street. I am of Swiss descent and I know how cautious these Swiss are, but this man says that in Switzerland today there is not only a new movement, but there is a mobilisation, a world Christian front. That is what this Swiss leader says—a Swiss Christian front and then a world Christian front. Is that our answer ?

Leaders today in the thought of Europe are all thinking of that word "Renaissance". It is rebirth—the rebirth of the individual ; the rebirth of the nation ; the rebirth of the nations.

Wherever I go people say one thing : "If only so-and-so could be changed !" You probably thought of the very person. Or you probably thought of five persons. Well, think of five persons changed. Think of nations changed. Is that the answer ? The world today is looking for an answer, and, by the Grace of God, there is an answer. But be clear on this point, the answer is not in any man or any group of men. The answer rests in the living God. It rests in a God-controlled person. It rests in a God-controlled nation. It rests in God-controlled supernaturalism.

Denmark—1936

*Berlingske Tidende, Copenhagen, wrote on 20 March
and 13 April, 1936 :*

It is now just a year since the first Oxford Group international team came to Copenhagen. Much has happened since then in Denmark, so that there can hardly be any corner in the country which does not know the Oxford Group. An even more significant result has been this—that thousands formerly indifferent to religion have become active Christians and so have gained a renewed sense of responsibility for the community in which they live.

With this year's work behind them the Oxford Group is now making a great new advance—finally focusing in a single burning flame at Ollerup, a village which has already made a great contribution to the cultural life of Denmark and in recent years has attracted the attention of the whole world.

We stood at a window in the gymnasium watching the crowd going in this morning. The folk on the highroad were typically Danish, the ordinary Danish people whose names never get into the newspapers.

There was something unforgettable about the picture of that massed stream of people moving forward with set purpose towards a single goal, as they worked their way against the wind to where the white-crossed flags of Denmark waved. This was no haphazard concourse of people. It was an army on the march. . . . Last Easter a few Danes spoke of their decision to change ; this Easter thousands were here who had carried decisions into their daily lives and occupations. . . .

THE PLACE TO START

Ollerup, Denmark, Easter, 1936

EVERYBODY WANTS to see the other fellow changed. Every nation wants to see the other nation changed. But everybody is waiting for the other fellow to begin.

The Oxford Group is convinced that if you want an answer for the world today, the best place to start is with yourself. This is the first and fundamental need.

Everybody admits the necessity of a moral and spiritual awakening. You find selfishness and fear everywhere—in men and in nations. One person really different. A million people different. A nation changed.

Look what Denmark has done—in one year. The secret is God-control. The only sane people in an insane world are those controlled by God. God-controlled personalities make God-controlled nationalities. This is the aim of the Oxford Group.

The true patriot gives his life to bring his nation under God's control. Those who oppose that control are public enemies. The God-controlled nation will add to her armament an army of life-changers, to her national defence the respect and gratitude of all her neighbours. Such a nation will demonstrate that spiritual power is the greatest force in the world.

World peace will only come through nations which have achieved God-control. And everybody can listen to God. You can. I can. Everybody can have a part.

Will it be you? Will it be your nation?

America—1936

A National Assembly at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was attended by 5,000 delegates from every part of the United States and Canada in June, 1936. This occasion gathered up the work of many years, which had included two visits from coast to coast by Dr Buchman and a large group from twenty-five nations in 1932 and 1934.

Mrs Emily Newell Blair wrote in Good Housekeeping :

For ten days I stayed with these people in the Berkshires. . . . The programme dealt with such subjects as the Family, Politics, Business. Few meetings have been held so free from "isms"—economic, political, educational. . . .

"America Awake" was the message of the programmes. The awakening of America through the individual regeneration of its citizens. As crusaders, the members of this Group go out to carry this message across the country. . . . May it not be that in these Berkshire hills, where our forefathers sought to found a nation dedicated to God, there has been sounded a message which will bring that nation to practise what alone will make it so ?

Twelve months later Will Irwin wrote in Liberty (October, 1937) :

The Oxford Group . . . have talked their idea of a God-guided world to almost every member of the Cabinet and to most members of Congress.

They are paying special attention to manufacturers' associations, employers in general. That aspect of their work gets more notice than another—their quiet approach to Labour leaders. The all-important problem in the United States, they say, is the industrial conflict, and already they have on their list several experimental triumphs which are indicative. They mean business, these men and women. . . . Before the end of this decade they will become a national issue in this country.

AMERICA AWAKE !

*A transatlantic broadcast from Stockbridge, Massachusetts,
4 June, 1936*

I AM DEEPLY MOVED by the thoughtfulness and vision of you, my friends in England, in making possible this transatlantic broadcast as my birthday present. By next year I may be able to share with you my birthday cake by radio !

I am speaking to you this afternoon from the village green of quiet Stockbridge, in the heart of the wooded Berkshire hills of liberty-loving New England. Down the principal street, bordered by rows of stately elms and rich lawns rolling unbroken from the footpath to the doorsteps of the white and red Colonial houses, came a few days ago an historic pageant. At the head of this cavalcade rode in his colourful garb Uhm-Pa-Tuth, Chief of the Stockbridge Indians, Prince of the Indian royal blood, last of the Mohicans, whose ancestors roamed these hills for centuries before the white men came. Behind him you could see Jonathan Edwards, famous preacher and first President of what is now Princeton University, riding in the old stage coach, with John Sargeant, the first missionary to the Stockbridge Indians. Then followed the returning pioneers from the West, with their covered wagons representing the hundreds who have come from the Pacific Coast across three thousand miles of country. British and American generals walked side by side, followed by service men of many countries. Then followed a large body of business men and workers from city and farm ; while the youth carried the standards of the forty-eight United States and the flags of those many nations whose citizens have been working with us in America.

Stockbridge has links with Britain. Here you can still see the

green-shuttered white cottage at the cross-roads opposite the old inn, where Cyrus Field received the first message sent by cable from England to America. The words of that message sent from Queen Victoria were, "What wonders God hath wrought!" The miracles of science have this week carried the message of the Oxford Group, the message of Christian recovery, to the American people. Today, in 1936, the message flashed to the ends of the earth is "America, Awake!"

Through the towns and villages of Massachusetts on an April night in 1775, Paul Revere rode to arouse the countryside. The Minute Men, volunteers of their day, instant for action, responded. Over these same villages and towns last week a modern Paul Revere rode the skies trailing the message from his aeroplane "America Awake—Oxford Group, Stockbridge." That first Paul Revere was the forerunner of a revolution that roused a people. The modern Paul Revere is calling for a spiritual revolution to unite a world.

From Alaska to New Mexico, from Copenhagen to Shanghai, by land, sea and air, has come this modern cavalcade as the answer to delusion, chaos and confusion. Bartender and banker, pickpocket and peer, employed and unemployed are all to be found gathered here in the eight house parties of the Oxford Group National Assembly, in Stockbridge and the neighbouring towns and villages. One of these takes the form of a tent city. Four hundred Canadians have crossed the undefended boundary on the north and are leading this meeting here today at which I am speaking.

Why are they here?

The Oxford Group is a Christian revolution for remaking the world. The root problems in the world today are dishonesty, selfishness and fear—in men and, consequently, in nations. These evils multiplied result in divorce, crime, unemployment, recurrent depression and war. How can we hope for peace

within a nation, or between nations, when we have conflict in countless homes? Spiritual recovery must precede economic recovery. Political or social solutions that do not deal with these root problems are inadequate. Man-made laws are no substitute for individual character. Our instant need is a moral and spiritual awakening. Human wisdom alone has failed to bring this about. It is only possible when God has control of individuals.

Through this control men find true freedom in a world haunted by insecurity and fear. They discover creative purpose in an age of bewilderment. They find new moral power amid moral decay. They learn to work together, in a world of conflicting interests, through common obedience to God. They weave the threads of understanding that make possible a new diplomacy in which statesmen can achieve enduring results. They create a new confidence as nations work together in common action for the freedom of mankind.

The true patriot gives his life to bring his country under God's control. When God has control, a nation finds her true destiny. Only a God-controlled nation can lead the world into sanity and peace.

But everyone is waiting for the other person and the other nation to begin. The answer lies in an awakening which starts in ourselves and, consequently, in our nation.

Thousands of ordinary people across the world are learning obedience to God's control. They are forming a new public opinion which demands a new quality of leadership. Such leadership can only come from men and women who speak with authority—an authority based on daily experience of the guidance of God.

The problems of the world reflect the people who live in it. Remake people and nations are remade.

We must not delay. The forces of evil threaten even the sanctity of marriage and the security of the home; and when

the home collapses, the nation collapses with it. The responsibility is personal to you and to me. The challenge of the Oxford Group is a challenge to decision—a challenge to listen, to listen and to act. When man listens, God speaks. Everyone can listen to God. Everyone can begin just where he is.

1936—Election Year

1936 was election year. A newspaper columnist, Walter Locke (Dayton News, 13 June, 1936) gives his reaction to the message of the Oxford Group:

The politicians in Cleveland thought they were getting ready to govern the United States. There was another guess coming, and it didn't come from the Democrats. It came from Frank Buchman, and though it dealt with government it had nothing to do with politics. A politics-sated world should be glad of that.

Whether Democrats or Republicans win the election, Frank Buchman came to Cleveland to say, the result will be about equally bad unless his candidate commands. Frank Buchman's candidate for ruler of America is God.

Well, aren't all the sessions of the convention in Cleveland opened with an assortment of prayers invoking the leadership of God? Yes, and some few political instructions were wirelessly by them to the throne of grace.

Buchman's idea is different. He doesn't plan to have God rule according to instructions from below. He would have men rule under instructions from above.

The old way of ruling through a god made in our own image and under our own command has made a mess of the world. . . .

None of that for Frank Buchman. He wants the country governed by men under instructions from God as definitely given and understood as if they came by wire, men who listen and hear, and then speak with inspiration of "Thus saith the Lord". When government reaches that point, Frank Buchman says, it will make no difference with party rules. . . .

He'd only like to help get God in the delegates—and everybody else. Get God in the delegates and the platform, the candidate, all the rest will be added unto them.

Here is the answer, Dr Buchman says, to the war problem, the race problem, the problem of clashing classes, the problem of a happy individual life—Thy Will be done. . . .

Next week it will be upon Philadelphia, in the vicinity of the Democrats, they concentrate their "life-changing" energies.

They haven't a paid secretary, yet all over the world this and that and the other Oxford Group goes.

WILL GOD CONTROL AMERICA ?

*A broadcast over the NBC network from Philadelphia,
19 June, 1936*

HAVE YOU EVER THOUGHT where America's real safety lies ? America's safety lies in God-control.

God-controlled individuals, God-controlled homes, God-controlled schools, God-controlled industry, God-controlled politics, God-controlled nations. This means that everybody takes his orders from God.

A dishwasher recently said to his employer, "I'm hungry." "What's wrong ?" said his employer. "Don't you get enough food to eat around here ?" "Yes, plenty ; but I'm hungry for God. I can't get enough." "Perhaps I need it too," said his employer.

The common denominator of our national need is the human need for God. Our greatest national need is moral recovery. The barriers that separate men from God and from other men must be destroyed.

Most of us have the conviction that the other fellow ought to be honest. At least we have that basis of union, that we want the other fellow to be honest. And if you want it badly enough for the other fellow you may catch some of it yourself. We may even wake up some morning and find *ourselves* getting honest, because we want the other fellow to be honest. Everybody believes in honesty, purity, unselfishness and love—for the other fellow. And some might even go so far as to wish it for the other party ! But the Oxford Group goes one better, and believes that you might even start with yourself—and your own party.

The other day I was talking with a coloured fellow about the

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Oxford Group. He said, "It's a great idea, if they all does it." He is right. Our friend has the philosophy. Everybody has got to do it.

Few people today seem to have any definite plan, or any idea of what the cost will be of moral and spiritual recovery. They don't seem to have thought through the united, disciplined action, under God-control, that is necessary to bring it about. And there are even those who hope to reap where others have sown, without paying the price themselves.

Fortunately, a growing number over a period of years have been paying the price, and today their influence is felt in fifty countries. Fortunately, too, there are statesmen who not only state the need, but point the answer. Such a statesman is the Marquis of Salisbury who, speaking of the Oxford Group, said recently in the British House of Lords :

The cause of the world's state is not economic ; the cause is moral. It is there where the evil lies. It is the want of religion which we ought to possess. If I may use a phrase which is common in a great movement which is taking place at this moment in this country and elsewhere, what you want are God-guided personalities, which make God-guided nationalities, to make a new world. All other ideas of economic adjustment are too small really to touch the centre of the evil.

Such a statesman is the President of the Norwegian Parliament. Broadcasting recently from New York, in a radio interview with Mr Lowell Thomas, the well-known commentator, he said :

There is a growing conviction among European statesmen today that any solution on the usual diplomatic basis can at best be only temporary. Many of us European statesmen have come into touch during the past year with the work of the

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Oxford Group, and have felt that here is a new hope for a more permanent solution to international crises.

Such statesmen, again, are the Premier of New Zealand and the Finance Minister of China. Premier Savage says that he sees "in the Oxford Group the only true policy". Dr Kung, Chinese Minister of Finance, sent a cable which was quoted last week by Lord Addington in the House of Lords. It read as follows :

The world today is in a state of chaos, degeneracy and disintegration, because men are dominated by selfishness, jealousy and materialism. The Oxford Group advocates the four principles of "absolute love, honesty, purity and unselfishness". It is a movement which transcends geographical divisions, racial distinctions, party differences and class conflict. I believe the principles and the discipline of the movement will help to bind men and women of the world together in a common moral and spiritual awakening which is urgently needed to evolve a new and better social order. Only the inspiration and guidance of a Higher Will can change human nature and conciliate men and nations so that there may be "peace on earth and goodwill among men".

There is an election on. Let's not confuse issues. The greatest election issue is whether we will elect God as the guide of our individual lives, and so of our national life. In the words of a well-known editor, "Get God in the delegates and the platform, the candidate, all the rest will be added unto them."

God is the Person that the American voter has got to reckon with in the coming election. The real question is, "Will God control America?"

The country must be governed by men under instructions from God, as definitely given and understood as if they came

WILL GOD CONTROL AMERICA?

by wire. This is the true dictatorship of the living God, and the answer to all dictators. This is the true patriotism, for the true patriot gives his life for his country's resurrection.

Here you begin to see the meaning of the phrase of the well-known political leader who said : "The Oxford Group has nothing to do with politics. Still, it has everything to do with politics. For it is a revolution in all politics, because God directs not only the platforms, but the politicians."

Back to God, and on to a new world order. The only hope for world relief is to begin instantly on a colossal scale.

God needs every American as a partner in the working out of His plan. National recovery and resurrection will come when we accept our full responsibility to work with Him. America must get ready to do her part in the creation of a new world order under God's control.

America's safety lies in God-control. Her destiny as a great nation depends directly on what you and I are like. What does God want me to do ? That is the issue at this time or any time. The place to begin is with yourself. The time to begin is now.

Britain—1936, 1937

In July 1936, 25,000 people gathered for a national demonstration in the British Industries Fair building, Birmingham. They heard a cross-section of Britain speak—"the type who are the back-bone of Britain", wrote the Sunday Graphic. This article continued :

The great gathering recognised the simple philosophy of changing the world. They saw themselves mirrored in what these plain men said.

As John Carter, the Oxfordshire farmer, put it ; "I listen to God while I am fetching my cows in. First, you get changed yourself. Then you change others. You tell them what you've found. When my wife was changed I saw a light in her eyes that I haven't seen since we were courting."

Dr Buchman sat on the platform. He beamed with delight as the ordinary men and women spoke, whom he understands so well.

HOW TO LISTEN

British Industries Fair building, Birmingham, 26 July, 1936

LEADERS EVERYWHERE now say that the world needs a moral and spiritual awakening. They say it in the universities, in politics, in business and in chancelleries throughout the world. A lot of people say it—some in striking phrases. But it is still just *words*.

The problem is *how*. It is one thing to talk about it. It is another thing to demonstrate it. It seems to me that most people who feel the need for awakening are confronted with the difficulty that faced me twenty years ago : how to bring it about—how to get the disciplined action on the part of the many to make it national.

Now I find when we don't know how, God will show us if we are willing. When man listens, God speaks. When man obeys, God acts. The secret is God-control. We are not out to tell God. We are out to let God tell us. And He will tell us.

The lesson the world most needs is the art of listening to God.

A general once sent me a postcard, during an international conference, with the picture of a man on it. The thought below was this, "God gave a man two ears and one mouth. Why · n't you listen twice as much as you talk ?" This is a daily possibility for everyone—to listen to God and get His programme for the day.

It is thoughts from God which have inspired the prophets all through history. And it is the prophet note that the American Secretary of State said was our instant need. He said that what the world needed was a modern Amos. You remember Amos, speaking of a famine abroad in the land, declared it was not a famine of water or of bread, but a famine of *hearing the words*

of the Lord. I believe Mr Hull was right when he said it was this same famine which was afflicting the world today.

Anyone can hear the words of the Lord. It is only necessary to obey the rules. The first rule is that we listen honestly for everything that may come—and if we are wise we write it down. The second rule is that we test the thoughts that come, to see which are from God.

One test is the Bible. It is steeped in the experience through the centuries of men who have dared, under Divine revelation, to live experimentally with God. There, culminating in the life of Jesus Christ, we find the highest moral and spiritual challenge—complete honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

Another excellent test is, "What do others say who also listen to God?" This is an unwritten law of fellowship. It is also an acid test of one's commitment to God's plan. No one can be wholly God-controlled who works alone.

It is to a group of willing men and women that God speaks most clearly. And it is through God-controlled people that God must one day govern the world.

A REVOLUTION TO CURE A REVOLUTION

A transatlantic broadcast¹ from London, 9 August, 1936

I AM SPEAKING to you all from Europe where, hourly, news of revolution is coming in. During the next fifteen minutes you can, if you like, learn how to take part in a revolution yourself. It takes a passion to cure a passion. It takes a revolution to cure a revolution. And the Oxford Group's answer to revolution is more revolution—the revolution in human nature, which is our only hope.

What is this Oxford Group? Well, a newspaper man puts it this way:

It's not an institution,
It's not a point of view;
It starts a revolution
By starting one in you.

Now, let me give you a picture of the Oxford Group demonstration in the buildings of the British Industries Fair, Birmingham—largest covered hall in Europe, and industrial show room of the British Empire. Something happened that week-end. You saw Britain on the move. Thousands came from every part of the Empire. There were contingents from thirty-five different countries—five hundred from Holland alone. Europe today echoes to the tramp of marching feet. Picture the response of that vast audience at Birmingham to more than a thousand youth of many nations marching together in a new enlistment.

What is this enlistment of the Oxford Group? Where are they marching? And why are they marching? In an age of

¹ Over a national network of the Columbia Broadcasting system.

material revolution they have enlisted in a spiritual revolution. They are enlisting in the moral equivalent of war.

The world today presents the spectacle of nations losing their way—of nations losing their traditions, their character, their nationhood. Many of us are blind to the haste with which events are hurrying on.

What is our real problem? You all know what a drought is. Well, we are suffering today from a spiritual drought. Fear and greed are like a dust storm. They spread over nations. They blind and choke people. They set man against man, class against class, nation against nation.

Take the war in Spain. Whichever side wins, the human factor will remain. War is no answer to suspicion, jealousy, lust and fear. No, the answer does not lie in a winning side—even in an election campaign—once we have got away from the things that really matter. National and world problems remain the same because the root problem—human nature—remains unsolved. Until we deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a national scale, nations must still follow their historic road to violence and destruction.

Three thousand miles of ocean do not change this fundamental problem—and will not save us if we fail to solve it. The symptoms may differ in Europe and America. The disease is the same.

What is the disease? Isn't it fear, dishonesty, resentment, selfishness? We talk about freedom and liberty, but we are slaves to ourselves.

The only possible alternatives today are collapse or God-control. And collapse is simply the selfishness of all of us together. Collapse or God-control. You and I, if we are selfish, are part of the disease; just as you and I, if we are God-controlled, can be part of the cure.

The Oxford Group is a revolution of God-control where God really guides you and your nation. Everyone is guided by

A REVOLUTION TO CURE A REVOLUTION

something. What are you guided by? Is it your own desires? Is it your pocketbook? Your fears? Your wife? Your husband? Or what the neighbours think? If it is your own selfish plan, you are an enemy of the nation.

God made the world, and man has been trying to run it ever since. That must stop. You remember what Will Rogers used to say: "God made man a little lower than the angels, and man has been getting a little lower ever since!" But now a new age has begun, where God is going to have right of way.

What we must have is a world-wide Christian front against the oncoming forces of materialism. We read of burning churches. The only answer to burning churches is a Church aflame.

The god of efficiency is not enough. Goodwill and good works do not reach the heart of the trouble. Idealism has not succeeded. The truth is that any lasting social and economic recovery can only be built on the foundation of a moral and spiritual recovery.

When you and I are not one hundred per cent. God-guided and God-controlled, we are really helping chaos. All lukewarm people are really helping chaos. The fate of nations depends upon whether you and I are God-controlled.

A new illumination must come to the world. I knew the man who gave us electric light. You can still see his first bulb, which Mr Henry Ford treasures in his laboratory at Dearborn. Everyone can get light today provided he makes contact with the power station. And it is just as practical to make contact with God. Steinmetz, the great scientist, foresaw this when he said that the next great discoveries would be in the realm of the spiritual. God has illumination for us, if our contact is good.

What we need is a supernational network of live wires across the world to every last man, in every last place, in every last situation. Many have been waiting for a great leader to emerge. The Oxford Group believes that it must be done not

through one person, but through groups of people who have learned to work together under the guidance of God.

The Oxford Group believes that the ordinary person can do the extraordinary thing if he is in touch with God.

God can put thoughts into your mind. Have you ever listened for them? Have you ever tried taking pencil and paper, and writing down the thoughts that come to you? They may look like ordinary thoughts. But be honest about them. You might get a new picture of yourself. Absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love. Those are Christ's standards. Are they yours? You may have to put things straight. I had to. I began by writing to six people, admitting that ill-will between us was my fault, and not theirs. Then I could really help people. Remember—if you want the world to get straight, get straight yourself.

God-control is the answer not only *to* revolution, but *in* revolution. In a revolution I went through not long ago, God gave me direct orders to stay in a place which the authorities had said was the most dangerous of all. I stayed. Others, who fled in search of safety, nearly lost their lives. My friend and I were perfectly safe.

The world's safety, America's safety, your safety, the safety of your home, lies in God-control.

Brains alone are not enough. It is obedience that counts—obedience to God. America, Canada, must learn to obey.

God spoke to the prophets of old. He may speak to you. God speaks to those who listen. God acts through those who obey.

Suppose tomorrow morning you get up a bit earlier and try listening to God. Why not get the family to listen too? Why not a spiritual radiophone in every home?

We can listen in every day. If we do, and if we obey what we hear, it is conceivable that together we will usher in the greatest revolution of all time, whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the world.

THE DESTINY OF NATIONS

A manifesto in RISING TIDE,¹ November, 1937

BY A MIRACLE of science, men can speak by radio to millions. By a miracle of the Spirit, God can speak to every man. His voice can be heard in every home, every business, every government.

When man listens, God speaks.
When man obeys, God acts.

It does not matter who you are or where you are. Accurate, adequate information can come from the Mind of God to the minds of men who are willing to take their orders from Him.

This is the revolution which will end revolution by changing human nature and remaking men and nations.

People believe that their leaders should be guided by God. But the rank and file must be guided too. A God-guided public opinion is the strength of the leaders. This is the dictatorship of the living Spirit of God, which gives every man the inner discipline he needs, and the inner liberty he desires.

Your security, the world's security, lies in God-control. No other social, political or economic programme goes to the root of the disease in human nature.

Only God-controlled men will make God-controlled nations to make a new world. In this adventure every man can find his vocation, every nation its destiny.

¹ *Rising Tide*, a pictorial review of the Oxford Group against the background of national events, was published after the World Assembly at Oxford in 1937. Its nine editions appeared in eight languages, reaching a circulation of 1,500,000.

II

A WORLD IN CRISIS

1938-1939

May the answer not be found in a re-awakening to the fundamental values on which democracy was built ; in a re-dedication of our people to those elementary virtues of honesty, unselfishness and love which so many of us have allowed to take a secondary place ? In an age when lowered moral standards have become a breeding-ground for destructive forces, is it not time for democracy to seek again the sources of her strength, and to demonstrate to the world the power of moral principles ?

Thirty-three Members of Parliament of all parties, in a letter to The Times on Moral Re-Armament, 1 September, 1938

1. Moral Re-Armament

In the early summer of 1938 Europe was undergoing a "war of nerves". Hitler's march into Austria had speeded the defence measures of the democracies. At the same time their need for a united spirit to meet the challenge of militant ideologies was being increasingly felt.

Frank Buchman believed there was only one way in which such a spirit, rising above the barriers of point of view and personal advantage, could be found. There must be a world-wide mobilisation of the moral and spiritual forces. They must be given a rallying point and a philosophy. "We have not yet tapped the great, creative sources in the Mind of God," he said. "God has a plan, and the combined moral and spiritual forces of the nation can find that plan."

On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in June, 1938, at a reception given in his honour in East Ham Town Hall, the cradle of the British Labour Movement, Frank Buchman launched Moral Re-Armament.

Over 3,000 crowded and overflowed the Town Hall to hear him make the speech which follows. With him on the platform, with representatives from many countries, were over sixty East London Mayors, Aldermen and Councillors, many of them veteran fighters in the Labour Movement.

This speech was reproduced as a full page editorial in the United States News (Washington, 6 September, 1938) and was linked by the editor, David Lawrence, with

A WORLD IN CRISIS

Woodrow Wilson's last published article, "The Road Away from Revolution" (Atlantic Monthly, August, 1923).

Mr Lawrence wrote :

With Europe in the midst of a crisis which could conceivably bring on another World War, it seems fitting to reproduce on this page a remarkable article published just fifteen years ago from the pen of Woodrow Wilson. . . . Reproduced also on this page is the appeal of Dr Frank Buchman, leader of the now world-wide Oxford Group movement. I have placed the two addresses alongside of each other because the note struck in 1923 by Mr Wilson is paralleled in 1938 in such eloquent fashion by this eminent American leader who has begun to awaken in 50 countries of the world a realistic conception of human brotherhood.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

East Ham Town Hall, London, 29 May, 1938

THE WORLD'S CONDITION cannot but cause disquiet and anxiety. Hostility piles up between nation and nation, labour and capital, class and class. The cost of bitterness and fear mounts daily. Friction and frustration are undermining our homes.

Is there a remedy that will cure the individual and the nation and give the hope of a speedy and satisfactory recovery?

The remedy may lie in a return to those simple home truths that some of us learned at our mother's knee, and which many of us have forgotten and neglected—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

The crisis is fundamentally a moral one. The nations must re-arm morally. Moral recovery is essentially the forerunner of economic recovery. Imagine a rising tide of absolute honesty and absolute unselfishness sweeping across every country! What would be the effect? What about taxes? Debts? Savings? A wave of absolute unselfishness throughout the nations would be the end of war.

Moral recovery creates not crisis but confidence and unity in every phase of life. How can we precipitate this moral recovery throughout the nations? We need a power strong enough to change human nature and build bridges between man and man, faction and faction. This starts when everyone admits his own faults instead of spot-lighting the other fellow's.

God alone can change human nature.

The secret lies in that great forgotten truth that when man listens, God speaks; when man obeys, God acts; when men change, nations change. That power active in a minority can be the solvent of a whole country's problems. Leaders

changed, a nation's thinking changed, a world at peace with itself.

"We, the Remakers of the World"—is that not the thinking and willing of the ordinary man? The average man wants to see the other fellow honest, the other nation at peace with his own. We all want to *get*, but with such changed leaders we might all want to *give*. We might find in this new spirit an answer to the problems which are paralysing economic recovery.

Suppose everybody cared enough, everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough? There is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed.

Think of the unemployed thus released for a programme of Moral Re-Armament; everyone in the nation magnetised and mobilised to restore the nations to security, safety and sanity.

Every man, woman and child must be enlisted, every home become a fort. Our aim should be that everyone has not only enough of the necessities of life, but that he has a legitimate part in bringing about this Moral Re-Armament, and so safeguards the peace of his nation and the peace of the world.

God has a nation-wide programme that provides inspiration and liberty for all and anticipates all political programmes.

Every employed and unemployed man employed in Moral Re-Armament; this is the greatest programme of national service—putting everybody to work remaking people, homes and businesses. A Swedish steelworker told me: "Only a spiritual revolution goes far enough to meet the needs of men and industry."

A Labour leader said: "I have seen the Labour Movement triumph and felt in the midst of triumph an emptiness. The Oxford Group gave my life new content. I see in its message the only key to the future of the Labour Movement and of industry the world over."

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

Only a new spirit in men can bring a new spirit in industry. Industry can be the pioneer of a new order, where national service replaces selfishness, and where industrial planning is based upon the guidance of God. When Labour, Management and Capital become partners under God's guidance, then industry takes its true place in national life.

New men, new homes, new industry, new nations, a new world.

We have not yet tapped the great creative sources in the Mind of God. God has a plan, and the combined moral and spiritual forces of the nation can find that plan.

We can, we must, and we will generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world.

A BIRTHDAY TALK TO EAST LONDON FAMILIES

East Ham Town Hall, 29 May, 1938

I THOUGHT I would begin this evening by thanking our younger friends who brought me flowers this afternoon. One of them gave me this poem. He is ten years old.

We go on marching, we are going to win.
With God as our Leader we will surely beat sin.
Our army travels—north, east, south and west,
Knowing in our hearts we are doing our best.
We just have a quiet time and see what God has to say,
As things go wrong we just kneel and pray.
We are very happy, we are very gay.
When the world is like this, things will be O.K.

Now, there is real philosophy in that. I wish we could all say, "Everything's O.K." Well, are we going to make it like that? Somebody's got to begin. That somebody may have to be you. I had to begin. I came to England seventeen years ago alone, unknown, simply because two very good people wanted to see two of their family different, and that is how this work began. I still remember walking the streets of a certain town in England and feeling I wanted to pinch myself because the things that came in my quiet time were so amazing. God used to tell me in 1921 that there would be a mighty awakening of God's Almighty Spirit in this land.

One man changed, a city changed, a whole nation changed. Every man, every woman, every child mobilised in this mobile army. If Ken, aged ten, can do it, every one of you ought to do

it—a part of that mobile army for bringing Britain under God-control. Begin to see a moving army, something on the march.

Every home a fortress ; every home a life-changing centre, where people just naturally learn how to change others. Suppose we begin to magnetise and mobilise people in different cells throughout the country ; we will soon begin to change the moral climate of Britain.

“Britain and the world must re-arm morally.” God gave me this as a key thought for this year specially.

God will begin to be in charge of these Isles. Somebody has got to start. Will you be that person ? Forget all about Frank Buchman, and that one day he had a quiet time and now you have a movement in fifty-two countries. Otherwise, you will miss the point of all this.

This is my birthday message to you. Why have we been so long learning this ? The only sane people in an insane world are those guided by God. Is East London going to bring the world back to sanity and security ?

A WORLD IN CRISIS

4 June, 1938

On Dr Buchman's sixtieth birthday messages of affection and respect poured in from all parts of the world.

Political leaders from many countries sent greetings to a dinner given in the House of Commons by Members of all parties. Other tributes came from Church leaders, industrialists and representatives of Labour. But the overwhelming bulk of the greetings were from the thousands of homes and individuals who had found new life through the Oxford Group—Yorkshire mill girls, Clydeside shipyard workers, Danish farmers, Swedish steel-workers, South African gold-miners, former head-hunters in Papua, all sorts and conditions, from Hammerfest in Norway, northernmost town in the world, to Buenos Aires and New Zealand. Minorities in Burma “deeply grateful for you—century-old barriers disappearing”; a thousand Swiss at a national assembly, sending thanks for “new hope and new destiny that you gave to this country”—these are some of the living messages of thousands which accompanied the greetings of statesmen. Among them was the following, from the Archbishop of Canterbury :

I would like to send a message of congratulation to Dr Buchman on the great work which he has been able to achieve in bringing multitudes of human lives in all parts of the world under the transforming power of Christ.

COSMO CANTUAR

A MESSAGE TO GREECE

Typical of messages sent by Dr Buchman at the request of friends in different countries on his sixtieth birthday, is the following :

I TAKE SPECIAL PLEASURE in responding to the request of my Greek friends for a message on my sixtieth birthday, because for thirty years of those sixty I have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with many foremost citizens of your great country. And perhaps the observations of half a lifetime give one a certain perspective.

All the world knows how, in the past, Greece thwarted the enemies of civilisation. Other enemies are on the march today. But they can no longer be overthrown on a single battlefield, and even those cultural forces which once saved Europe are in many countries in danger of turning traitor to the cause.

The enemies today are selfish materialism and moral apathy. They are the source of all national ills. Only one power is strong enough to oppose them—the power of God-inspired men. Against these moral and spiritual foes we must launch a moral and spiritual offensive. The soul of the nations is at stake.

In this fateful struggle, where the fullest measure of courage, discipline and sacrifice is required, there are many who look to the Hellenic people with confidence and hope. They believe that the glory of Greece lies not only in the past, but also in the present and the future. They believe that she will be faithful to her great traditions.

2. Sweden—1938

In the summer of 1938 the Oxford Group met with far-reaching response in Sweden, especially amongst the cultural and intellectual leaders of social democracy.¹

These developments were described in the leading Labour paper of Copenhagen (Social-Demokraten, 2 July, 1938) :

While the work in Norway and Denmark was begun with big public meetings, the movement in Sweden has been propagated from man to man. In this way over the whole of Sweden, just as in Denmark and Norway, there has been created a network of living and vital cells. The movement has started particularly strongly in Dalarna. Here lies a belt of Sweden's most important industrial undertakings. Workers in these industries feel their responsibility as the spinal cord in the Swedish Labour movement, and in the Swedish people as a whole. It is particularly in this working class that the Oxford Group in Sweden has come to play a part.

In August, 1938, a Scandinavian Assembly for Moral Re-Armament was held in the old Hanseatic city of Visby on the Island of Gottland.² Here, on this Swedish "island of ruins and roses", many hundreds gathered in the ruined Cathedral, the only building large enough to hold them. The theme of the Assembly was announced in these words :

MAY SWEDEN AND THE NORDIC NORTH GIVE A PATTERN FOR
WORLD DEMOCRACY.

OUR PEOPLE MUST MORALLY RE-ARM.

OUR HONOUR AND POWER CONSIST IN OUR WILL TO GIVE THE
WORLD A PATTERN OF TRUE DEMOCRACY. TRUE DEMOCRACY
DEPENDS ON A DECISION OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL TO LIVE FOR GOD'S
MONARCHY IN THE WORLD.

SWEDEN, UNDER GOD, CAN BE THE RECONCILER OF THE NATIONS.

¹ See "Cultural Renaissance in Scandinavia," p. 210.

² See "Why Does Oxford Laugh?", p. 202.

On Sunday morning, 16 August, Frank Buchman spoke to the Visby Assembly. In this speech he addressed those who had been drawn to Moral Re-Armament but had not, as yet, fully comprehended its aims. One of his greatest battles has been to enlarge the vision and understanding of those who flock to him. It has always been inconceivable to him that a maximum experience of Jesus Christ could issue in less than a renaissance in the lives of nations. In this speech his purpose is to single out those who will face God's fullest challenge in their own hearts and accept from Him the task of saving nations in a time of world danger.

REVIVAL, REVOLUTION, RENAISSANCE

Visby, Sweden, 16 August, 1938

TODAY WE WANT to forge a united battlefront. The clear issue is whether we are guided by God or not. It is not whether we are clever. It is not what nation we belong to. We meet here today as Christians and we meet as guided people, and our final source of authority is God's plan.

I hope that by the time I finish speaking some of you will have made a decision. We have come here with different objectives. First, some of the people have come here hoping to be changed. That is very good, very necessary. Some of you come here with the hope that you will learn to change others. That, too, is very necessary.

But the danger is that some of you want to stop there. I am tremendously interested in a third point—how to save a crumbling civilisation. That is the thing that interests me. But then I want a fourth thing. I want to reach the millions of the world.

All these things ought naturally to follow each other. If you are changed, you naturally want to change other people. The next thing is you want to save civilisation. Then you want to reach the millions out there. It is a natural programme.

But sin comes along. I don't know if you believe in it or not, but it is here. Don't spend the rest of the day arguing if it exists or not. That is what some of you would like to do. You would miss the whole point. We are not here to argue ; we are here for constructive planning and action.

I know what some of you would like out of the Oxford Group—a nice comfortable awakening ; you would call it a revival. A nice armchair religion. That is the thinking of some

people. But if we stopped there, I should be sorry. If you stop there, I am your enemy unless I warn you. A person who has that conception today is not adequately thinking and planning to save the millions.

I am not interested, nor do I think it adequate, if we are going to begin just to start another revival. Whatever thoughtful statesman you talk to will tell you that every country needs a moral and spiritual awakening. That is the absolutely fundamental essential. But revival is only one level of thought. To stop there is inferior thinking. Unless we call for something bigger than that we are done for.

The next step is revolution. It is uncomfortable. A lot of Christians don't like the word. It scares them. It makes them goose-fleshy. That's where some of your critics come from—goose-fleshy Christians with armchair Christianity.

Begin to work out how many still go to church and ask why the church today is not reaching one hundred per cent. of the people. I know revolution makes people uncomfortable. I am not here to make you comfortable, and I am not here to make you like me. What the Oxford Group will give this and every nation is a spiritual revolution.

But some of you are not thinking this way. Some of the cleverest people in the world are thinking along the line of destructive revolution, and they are already at work. May I say a very strong word to you this morning? I find here the same sort of inflammable matter that made Spain possible. Unless we and others see the bigger vision of spiritual revolution, the other may be possible.

Think of the uncomfortableness of that kind of revolution. We are met in a ruined church. How many churches are in ruins in Spain today? That is revolution—very uncomfortable. The point is this. Are the Christians going to build a Christian philosophy that will move Europe? Are you the kind of Chris-

tians that can build that revolution ? Is that the New Testament ? Is that Christian ? Is that the sort of thing you are going to do ? Is that your programme ? Is that your policy ?

If you are not going on that battlefield, I wish you well. I am not going to quarrel with you or criticise you. You do exactly what you like in the way you like. That's your idea of democracy.

I don't say it's true democracy, but it's the popular practice of democracy. For an increasing number of citizens in democratic states are now unwilling to acknowledge in speech and action those inner authorities on which the life of democracy depends. Each man has his own plan. It's so wonderful each to have his own plan. It's such freedom, such liberty ! Everyone does as he pleases. But not in the Oxford Group. There you have true democracy. You don't do as you please, you do as God guides. You do God's plan.

I cannot go into all the qualities necessary for a revolutionary this morning. There were some people in the Acts and the Gospels who gave everything. There were others who did not give everything. Even in a revolution some people want an amount of padding around them. I want to ask you this morning whether you want to be that kind of a revolutionary. If so, there may be a comfortable place for you behind the lines. But somewhere on the battlefield we will have the real revolutionaries.

There is a third stage—renaissance. The re-birth of a people, individuals and the re-birth of a nation. I know what you may say. Illusion. Illusion. Illusion. Insanity. What is the insanity ? Where is it ?

Can we have this rebirth of a man and nation ? Some people do not like the idea of nations reborn, or of reaching the millions. They deride such a programme by calling it "publicity". Read the Old Testament. Look at Isaiah 52. You can begin at the sixth verse. Let me read the seventh to you : "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good

tidings, that publisheth peace ; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation." Does it say "publish" there ? There is publicity. It is amazing how many Christian people and otherwise clever people are put off by a thing like this. You mustn't get publicity when you want to build something ! All the publicity must be for destruction—or must it ?

Take the word "Gospel". Gospel means "good news", front page news. But people object if it gets on the front page. One critic objected. He started a clever phrase. His criticism got wide publicity. Do you know why he started this clever phrase ? Why do people do these things ? Why might I do such a thing ? If I don't want someone to meet my needs, I put up a nice barricade, a nice smoke-screen. Now that man's clever phrase has gone over this country like a poison gas and the average man hasn't had on his gas mask.

Do you see it ? The man who started that clever phrase is defeated in his own life. That's the enemy. It may be a very amiable enemy, but it is all the more dangerous. He is going to keep thousands of people from getting the real thing. People are going to sit back in their cells of defeat and you will never get at them. You will never heal their lives.

People are shy and hesitant and fear criticism. Criticism is uncomfortable. I know that. It was like a dagger through my heart when I was first attacked. I suffered. I know what it means. But if you are a real revolutionary, you always maintain perspective, no matter what people say about you. No matter how stones come, you go straight ahead. Stones of criticism are so bracing—they just set you up for the day.

I thank God tremendously for what has been done in this place, for all the preparations you have made, for all the difficulties you have overcome. Grateful for all that, but let's remember there is still sin in the camp. And that sin may be inferior thinking.

You will do well today to read the fifty-first psalm. It is a tremendous human experience. And then read in the New Testament about the Cross of Christ. You will never, never, never come into this experience until you know the Cross of Christ. Some of you have heard about it, Sunday by Sunday, but it's not an experience. If it were experience, you would not shrink from anything.

I am going to promise you one thing. I am not turning back. I am not turning back, no matter who does, no matter what it is going to cost. I do not want you to come along just because I am here—that isn't it. That would be a poor revolution. That would be a poor fellowship. Let us for a moment see a picture of the Cross of Christ, and let me say, if you join in this great crusade, you will get the way of the Cross. I am not going to lure you by hopes of material success. I am not going to lure you by saying you are going to be heroes. I am not going to lure you, although I believe that these lands can give a pattern on how to live. It is a personal experience of the Cross. It is not I, but Christ. It is not I at the head, but Christ who leads.

There are meetings this afternoon—the lawyers, the educationalists. These are important, but there is another more important. Cancel all others if you must for this one—the meeting between God and yourself. The biggest thing this afternoon for you may be to go off alone and decide whether you are going to be one of these fellow-revolutionaries, where you are going to stand on this battle-front. I am not going to ask you to make a decision right now. The thing you have got to decide is between you and God. Do it alone. Write it down if you want to. It is a deed, like the transfer of property—so you turn over your life to God, for full and complete direction as a fellow-revolutionary.

Then you are going to be free. Then you are going to have true democracy because you are free. That's my challenge to you.

3. *First World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament*

In September, 1938, the first World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament was held at Interlaken, in Switzerland, at a time when the nations seemed on the verge of war. Everywhere people anxiously waited for the next pronouncement of national leaders on whose word the issue seemed to hang. In London, through the days of crisis, thousands filled the churches, gas masks were issued to all civilians, and in Hyde Park, by the light of flares at night, people were digging air-raid shelters. Armed forces were being mobilised, and young men of many European countries were recalled from Interlaken to join their units in armies which seemed about to let loose another war.

The world's Press covered the Interlaken Assembly. L'Illustration (Paris, 22 October, 1938) wrote in an editorial :

The meetings were particularly interesting on account of the people who were there. There were political and diplomatic personalities from both sides of the Atlantic. There were Presidents of Parliaments, Foreign Ministers, Church dignitaries, ex-anarchists, and representatives of all those nations who a few weeks ago so nearly came to blows.

All these men of goodwill, coming from such varied backgrounds, are convinced that force alone can never solve the differences which jeopardise the peace of the world . . . that the answer to the most violent antagonism can only be found on a spiritual level. We must create in the realm of philosophy and sociology a dynamic of loyalty and goodwill which, little by little, will change the face of the world. Such a faith shared by everyone cannot fail to solve the most frightening problems whether social, economic or political, and bring happiness to the peoples of the world.

To produce such a result we must morally re-arm those elements of human society which for a long time have had no sense of mutual responsibility. Statesmen must find new levers and appeal to neglected sentiments to set right the relationships between the nations. . . . Why should we not make an experiment in world-wide Moral Re-Armament? Such an experiment has never yet been tried and it might have excellent results.

A WORLD IN CRISIS

For Frank Buchman the Interlaken Assembly was pre-eminently an occasion for proclaiming a desperately needed message of sanity to those men in whose hands the destiny of an entire generation seemed to rest.

In these speeches he gives a fresh evaluation of the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament in the light of contemporary events. He re-affirms his conviction that the forgotten factor in world politics is the answer that God gives when He speaks directly to the human heart.

PATTERN FOR STATESMANSHIP

*Opening address at the First World Assembly for Moral
Re-Armament, Interlaken, 2 September, 1938*

NOW WE MUST DEVELOP the framers of the just and lasting peace that is to be. The actual conditions prescribed for world peace have proved to be without peace and have even worked against peace.

We must create such a spirit that the nations even in times of decisive decisions have those qualities at hand and operative that are over and above the human wisdom which has so often failed us in the past.

We must bridge seemingly impossible and humanly hopeless situations. We must have justice, whereby each sees not only his difficulties but the difficulties of others also. We must find that answer which will give satisfaction and security to all—an answer that is above party, that is above class, that is above faction, that is above nations.

What is the answer to this negative cloud that hangs over the whole of Europe? What will drive away the clouds that have been hanging over the Jungfrau during these ominous days? The very mountains seem to reflect the mood of a disturbed Europe.

We need to reach a whole new level of thinking, willing and living. It is only sheer blindness that leads us to any other conclusion. Anxiously the people are awaiting from the statesmen and leaders those pronouncements that will give them a maximum security for all, the freedom, peace and justice which the common mind of all should always supply, but which in times of crisis is delegated to the few.

The Oxford Group's aim ever since the last war has been to

give a whole new pattern for statesmanship and a whole new level of responsible thinking—faculties only given to men who are living under God's guidance, who are changed through daily contact with God and through daily obedience to God. Its aim is to remake the world and provide those principles of living that cumulative experience has proved to be practical and demonstrable everywhere.

What is the particular genius of presenting truth that has made the Oxford Group so effective in so many countries? It goes to the root of the problem—a change of heart.

We have set ourselves the difficult task of trying to liquidate the cost of bitterness and fear, which mounts daily. The odds are seemingly against us, but just as individuals are delivered from their prison cells of doubt and defeat, so it is possible for nations to be delivered from their prison cells of fear, resentment, jealousy and depression, and oftentimes through one illumined man, one masterful prophet. How often this has been true in history! If this is true of one man, what can happen if a group of people in every nation carry through the illumination and give a whole new public opinion?

When Moral Re-Armament is a reality, then the maintaining of prestige need no longer be a factor in national policy. Every nation then finds its prestige in its new mission, in taking new responsibility.

The world lives today in the climate of suspicion, fear and greed. The world awaits an inspired answer from statesmen as well as the ordinary man. Yes, inspired statesmen, guided not alone by human wisdom, but by that added help which sees and recognises the Supreme Plan. There must be an adequate plan for the world's ills, and if God has a plan, He also has God-prepared instruments.

GUIDANCE OR GUNS?

Interlaken, 6 September, 1938

THE WORLD is at the crossroads. The choice is guidance or guns. We must listen to guidance or we shall listen to guns.

Every statesman admits that the world needs a new moral climate. It is one thing to articulate a great truth like spiritual leadership. It is another thing to live it and make it the constant of a nation's life. That is really the crux of the matter. It is there we need the daily willing of every man under God's control. Through the lack of that sort of living we have starved the nation's life and the lives of the nations.

Spiritual leadership must have a content of positive action far greater than what the world now associates with the term. A great many people when they hear someone speak about spiritual leadership say, "Thank God, someone is articulating the need. I need do nothing about it. All's well." People agree and do exactly as they please.

The Oxford Group is a phalanx of God-controlled people from all lands who are constantly waging a world war against selfishness. It has been in action since the last war training men for the moral re-armament of the nations.

Everybody knows of somebody else they would like to see different. Every nation immediately thinks of some other nation that should be different. What if they were? That would be the answer to all our problems, if people were different and had the power to change the men and the nations. And that is what the Oxford Group believes. It is just as simple and natural and normal as that, and it is just what everybody is waiting for. It is a national necessity. Why don't we reach the age of sanity and do it? On the lowest basis it is the best insurance for every-

one, and it means security if nothing else, for God has a sufficient answer.

Every man in every land should listen to guidance. For every home, in every land, the natural and normal thing should be to get their programme from God. In industry, in the workshop, in the nation's life, in Parliament, the normal thing is to listen to God. Each nation expresses it in its own way—one nation in one way, and another in another, but all God-controlled and God-led. Thus, with God leading, all will understand each other.

Here in this philosophy is lasting peace, and only here. You will not find it in any other quarter. It is the peace that is born of God-control. I need not remind you that God-control means asking for guidance.

It is a forgotten factor in world politics today—listening to guidance. Yet in certain countries all the laws of the land are still made—at least according to the Statute Book—"under Divine Guidance". But suppose every individual had the moral re-armament of God-control. Think what a strength that would be throughout the world !

It would bring into action those latent powers which we often-times hide under a cover of false reserve—and call it national character. If those latent powers were released and mobilised under God they would generate enough power to change the thinking and living of the world.

There is a tremendous power, too, in a minority guided by God. Think of a person like Joan of Arc. She saved her nation. The voice of God for her became the voice of reason for her nation. This is what our age needs. The voice of God must once again become the will of the people.

Think what God can do through the influence of the millions who are being reached through this message of God-control. Spiritual power is still the greatest force in the world.

HUMANITY AT THE CROSSROADS

Interlaken, 10 September, 1938

I LOOKED OUT on the fire of sunrise on the Jungfrau this morning, as the Alps became illumined with the start of a new day. Is it to be God's light of a new day for Europe and the world ; or is it to be the fading light of a doomed civilisation ? The world faces this historic choice.

Immediate decisions lie with the few who hold the reins of history in their hands. Yet each of us must make the crucial decision that, come what may, our lives and our nations are to be controlled absolutely by the living God, and that we accept His plan for the world.

The Oxford Group builds the strong fabric in the nation's life that holds it firm. It makes the nation conscious of the living God. It holds before the nation its primary national policy—obedience to guidance.

Then family life ensures the nation's health and prepares God-governed children who are fit to be citizens. Their education finds its inspiration as teachers and students, morally saved, are taught by God.

Then industry takes hope. For confidence brings expansion and God-control brings harmony and efficiency. Capital and labour work together, like the fingers on the hand. Each man has a share in labour. Each man builds up the nation's capital.

Government, as one Prime Minister said, is then made easier. For the more men, under God, govern themselves, the less they need government from outside. Taxation goes down as honesty

goes up. And the people naturally choose as leaders those who are most clearly led by God.

Moral Re-Armament creates white and red corpuscles, energy and protection, in the national blood stream. The poisons of decadence and division are thrown off, as a healthy organism throws off disease.

The Oxford Group is building a world organism that takes the needs of nations and answers them with men. It is a challenge to every man and every woman to enlist under God's control in that colossal task. What is your part in remaking the world? He who refuses to enlist under God's orders thereby enlists in the cause of world destruction.

In time of war, a nation mobilises every energy for national defence. If nations see a common enemy, they will unite in common action, sinking their national differences. Suppose the world were invaded by a vast army from Mars, threatening our existence, would not the whole world join forces in self-defence?

Is there no common enemy against which all the nations must fight shoulder to shoulder? There is. The common foes of fear, greed and resentment have worked with deadly accuracy to bring the nations to the brink of catastrophe.

Why should the methods which have failed to influence individuals influence nations? Do you respond to lectures, to pious pronouncements from those who lightly skip over their own mistakes? Then why should we expect nations to respond?

Only Moral Re-Armament can bind the nations together. It arouses not fear, but confidence and gratitude. It unites all in the world organism of God-directed men and women, the responsible family of mankind.

Humanity is at the crossroads. We must reach a final decision for ourselves and for our nations. Do we choose the road of selfishness that leads to uncontrollable violence and darkness?

HUMANITY AT THE CROSSROADS

Or will it be the road of the Cross to a sound world, where we learn how to live together, where the ancient virtues of justice, understanding and peace rule under God over a sane humanity ?

The choice rests with every man. For every man can under God be a remaker of men, and every God-controlled man becomes a force for Moral Re-Armament.

Is this conviction a passion in your heart ? Then it will spread like fire through your nation.

Where are the men in every land who will rise and accept the sovereignty of the living God, who will fight for their nations now by enlisting under the King of Kings, and who will answer the aching hunger of mankind for peace and a new world ?

Following the World Assembly at Interlaken, Dr Buchman was invited to Geneva where a luncheon was given, attended by diplomats and delegates to the League of Nations from fifty-three nations. The speech he made on this occasion follows.

In introducing him, the Hon. C. J. Hambro stated :

Some of us delegates to the League Assembly have asked you to come here today to meet and to hear Dr Buchman and some of his fellow workers in the Oxford Group. We have done so because we have felt that in this hour of grave apprehension and fear it is of vital importance to meet hope and faith and strength.

We have the impression that these people have succeeded in fundamental things where we have failed. They have created a fellowship of men and women irrespective of nationality and political doctrine. They have created that constructive peace which we have been seeking in vain for years. So we have asked them to come to give us the right mind for preparing that Moral Re-Armament which they have already prepared among so many nations.

Where we have failed in changing politics, they have succeeded in changing lives, and giving men and women a new way of living.

A few days later the editor of the Journal de Genève, M. Jean Martin, sent to editors around the world a special supplement of his paper reporting the news of Moral Re-Armament. In an accompanying letter he wrote, "Whatever happens in Europe, Moral Re-Armament remains the only answer to recurrent crisis and the one foundation for reconciliation and permanent peace. . . . In these critical days the press of every nation can play a decisive part in the moral re-armament of world public opinion. I am anxious that my paper shall contribute to this programme. . . ."

ONE THING CAN SWING THE BALANCE

Geneva, 15 September, 1938

AT TIMES OF CRISIS we must re-examine all our values. Our commonly accepted standards fail to be adequate. We need a new quality of life for all. We must possess some superior quality—a quality of living that rises above resentment, jealousy, greed and points of view, because all these may keep us from a maximum message.

People and nations for a long time have been thinking abnormally. Men and nations suffer from the numbing disease of auto-intoxication. The world is drugged with its own sin and blinded with its own selfishness. People have accepted standards lower than they know they ought to accept.

Some superhuman power is needed to change the thinking of the ordinary man and of those who lead. We need to call into being a whole new philosophy of living—that quality of life that is above party, above class, above faction, above nations—God-control.

It is one thing to say that God-control is the only true policy. It is another thing to make it a reality in the life of a nation. A whole new fabric needs to be woven. Any of us can recall a succession of conferences which started with high hopes but ended with failure. Yet conferences, God-controlled, would surprise everyone, because they would be successful and accomplish what they set out to do.

It is the super-statesmen who make God-control their programme, who will solve the ills of mankind and usher in lasting peace. The great men of history are the men who can articulate

A WORLD IN CRISIS

and translate into action the answer to war, the men who will confess their own shortcomings instead of spotlighting those of others.

Individuals and nations need to have a sense of repentance. Awaken the individual and you awaken the nation. Then we shall have a new moral climate and an answer to present crisis and recurrent crises. This colossal task requires the combined wisdom of God and man.

Statesmen everywhere are becoming convinced that this is the only lasting programme, but we still need to develop men who will put it into action in their different countries. It is like the early days of the Bell telephone. Installation is still defective and reception is still limited.

The only thing that can swing the balance between defeat and victory is the decisive voice of God—statesmen and their people unitedly under God's control. Statesmen of the world must have the courage to inaugurate a new day and a new way—to be the peacemakers of the new world.

4. Britain—1938

During the winter following the Munich crisis, Britain was awakening to the need for immediate re-armament. In addition, responsible national leaders, concerned with the moral and spiritual preparedness of the country took up the call for a national campaign for Moral Re-Armament. Through a series of statements in the correspondence columns of The Times, they placed the issue before the country.

This correspondence came from Members of Parliament of all parties, leaders in the Trade Unions and the Labour Movement, heads of the Armed Forces, prominent sportsmen and journalists.

The call for Moral Re-Armament was also answered by the Press and by national leaders in many European countries, in the British Dominions and the United States, in the Middle East, India and the Far East. The hope contained in the two words "Moral Re-Armament" caught the imagination of nations and, gathering momentum, circled the world.

To the leaders of Nazi Germany on the other hand, Moral Re-Armament appeared as "the Christian garment for world democratic aims". The official Gestapo report on the Oxford Group (see p. 229) states, "The Group breathes the spirit of western democracy. . . they encourage their members to place themselves fully beneath the Christian Cross, and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ."

In the following messages and speeches Dr Buchman develops the meaning of Moral Re-Armament for the nation and the citizen.

FRAMEWORK OF A MIGHTY ANSWER

An Armistice Day message, London. 1938

MY LOVED BROTHER rests in a grave in France. Armistice Day brings back treasured memories. There is a spot in France that is forever mine. It is marked in perpetuity. Many, very many, share a similar fate. We are comrades in a great sacrifice. How can we make this Armistice Day serve so that the day may come when such a loss can never happen again?

The secret lies in those two minutes of silence—if we, as a nation, could catch the reality of God's guidance in those precious moments.

For many, those two minutes are a great experience but do not serve the fullest purpose. To many it is an awkward time. So much might happen; so little actually does. We are not certain what to do. We try to remember the faces of those loved long since and lost awhile. We want something, but it seems to elude us. We come away with only a vague sense of uplift.

Grief may be selfish and keep us from contact with God. Grief may cloud the presence of God and so make us fail in giving an adequate answer. The people who wallow in selfish grief are in the grip of self-pity and become traitors to the cause for which their loved ones died. They go from crisis to crisis and from problem to problem. Their very selfishness makes another generation of graves possible and even necessary. They see the other man and other nations as their problem, and have no constructive answer for themselves or their nation.

They fail their generation because they do not wish to be involved. They are too preoccupied ever to articulate the great

truths that God has a plan for their generation, and that a whole new philosophy of living is possible.

Shall I tell you what happens when I listen? I give my mind to disciplined direction. I find that God's thoughts can become my thoughts. Direct messages come from the Mind of God to the mind of man—definite, direct, decisive. God speaks.

Radio has given us a counterpart. Whenever we see that instrument, we know that if we tune in, we shall find a response. But many who ought to know better still fail to listen. They must follow their egocentric way still further, continue to talk, talk, talk, rather than learn the great compelling truth, the great symphony that comes to us when we listen. God has a plan for the nations. Nations are searching for a whole new experience of truth.

Shall we at last as a nation, during our silence, make a high resolve that we shall at all costs discover in that silence the answer for enduring peace? Armistice Day can become the framework of a mighty answer. If we give those two minutes on Armistice Day, we may form a daily habit. We may find those two minutes so satisfying that guidance becomes the daily source of all our creative thinking and living. In this way silence can be the regulator of men and nations. For guidance comes in silence.

In the autumn of 1938, Frank Buchman was invited by the British Broadcasting Corporation to take part in a series of talks under the general title, "The Validity of Religious Experience". In this framework he sought to picture the religious experience that would be valid for the statesman and the ordinary man in a world crisis.

He saw clearly the urgent need of rallying all Christian forces on the only possible platform for united action—whole-hearted obedience to God. For him the points of view that divide men of goodwill one against the other, were dwarfed by the greatest conflict of all, that of Chaos against God.

CHAOS AGAINST GOD

*A broadcast arranged by the British Broadcasting Corporation,
27 November, 1938*

THE WORLD TODAY is waiting for guidance. We are now fighting a greater war than any war since the world began. It is not nation against nation, but Chaos against God.

The world today is waiting for the answer.

New men, new nations, a new world—God-controlled. There you have a programme valid for a world crisis.

Valid religious experience has power to change a person, a home, an industry, a nation. Some expression of religious experience greater than ever before must be called into being, something unlimited by our prejudices, far above our personal points of view, something instinctively recognised by everyone as the long hoped for solvent of every problem.

We must re-think and re-live our whole conception of religious experience. Much, admittedly, has not been valid experience. Oftentimes it has been religious invalidism—a crass, insipid, dull, tepid, unimaginative maladaptation of what ought to be great life-giving, nation-forming experiences. It has been a warped conception, marred by moral twists. Due to our spiritually poverty-stricken lives, we even glibly admit that business and politics do not mix with religion.

We have been so long on the low levels of religious experience that we cannot readily grasp what an Alpine range of experience could be ours if all our thinking, acting and planning were God-controlled and not man-controlled. We need a whole new creative force let loose in the world—a religious experience so dynamic, so wholly adequate that, in the words of Isaiah, "Nations shall run unto thee because of the word thy God."

President Roosevelt has said, "I doubt if there is any problem—social, political or economic—that will not melt before the fire of a spiritual awakening."

Today we drift with the tide instead of creating the experience that will turn the tide. In the recent crisis many people again turned to God. Man's extremity may be God's opportunity. But as an Edinburgh landlady told me, "It is one thing to pray during the crisis, as hundreds have done. It is another thing so to live that it does not happen again."

Now, how can we find this new quality of living? How can we capture that spirit that can change the world? It can only come from a genuine religious experience—that is valid for a change of heart, for changed social conditions, for true national security, for international understanding. It is valid because it originates in God, and issues in actual changes in human nature.

To bring such an experience to every citizen is the highest form of national service, and must be our supreme national objective. Here is work for everyone, everywhere. Our great need today is not to vouch for that validity by argument or explanation, but to demonstrate it by creating new men, new nations, a new world.

We must recapture the power of personal religious experience. Children are born every day. It ought to be just as natural for people to be reborn every day.

Let me quote from the diary of an East London woman, unemployed, but fully employed because she is bringing a religious experience to others. She says :

For me every day in East London is full. It is wonderful to see the fighting spirit of the people in spite of all the difficulties. I have just been to stay with my mother, who is eighty-six, and my family. When I arrived they were just as curious as they

could be to hear about people being reborn every day in East London. My brother, who was a pagan and used to ridicule all I did, said, "After all you have told me I begin to see you are right. I need to be different." His wife was changed the day before I left, and I heard them talking it over before five o'clock in the morning. Now my sister and niece are well on the way to being changed, and also a younger brother and his wife and two sons.

The crisis has made many of us women think. Tomorrow night we older women of East London meet, and our guidance is that we talk on how to make every home a centre for Moral Re-Armament.

That is the work of an unemployed woman. Now listen to her son's diary :

A barge-builder got changed last week. And last night a fellow from the gas works. At one meeting there was a milkman, three grocers, two laundry workers, a telephone operator. We have just succeeded in getting a strike settled, and some two hundred men went back to work.

The work of that mother and son can be a pattern for the nation. It is a pattern which, if multiplied by the thousand, would be an answer to unemployment, for in the divine scheme of things there is no such thing as unemployment. It would make for true equality and brotherhood. If everybody cared enough, if everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough?

Daily the work of making new men out of old goes on apace. How quickly real spiritual experience can multiply and reach a whole community. Brother speaks to brother and neighbour to neighbour. So the new spirit spreads. Out of one new home can come a hundred new homes.

Changed lives are the true foundation of a new world order.

An eminent editor has said that life-changing on a colossal scale is the only hope left for the world today. We know that everything else has failed. Disarmament has failed. The League of Nations has not fulfilled the plan of its designers. Human plans fail in human character. Why not try God's plan? For those of you who are still unconvinced, the thing to do is to try it.

And remember, to be valid, a religious experience must have a moral backbone.

A few weeks ago at Geneva a Foreign Minister¹ told his fellow delegates his experience in difficult political decisions :

I was recently diplomatic Minister in a country which had a dispute with my own. We lost the case. I was annoyed at the way certain papers reported the affair. The attitude of my country was made to look ridiculous.

At that time I had been invited to speak at an important dinner in the capital city to which I was accredited. It was suggested that I should speak about this case. At first I resolutely refused. But just before I was about to respond to the toast, the conviction came to me that I had to refer to the dispute. I complimented my hosts on their success and said that in the future we should be better friends.

From that day all bitter comments against my country ceased. The fact that I was able to make such a speech was only because of my deep conviction that it was much more in accord with God's Will than the speech which I had previously wished to make.

Later this Foreign Minister, in presenting his foreign policy to his Parliament, stated :

We can perceive a new spiritual life in the world, which promises hope for the future. It finds expression in the efforts for Moral and Spiritual Re-Armament.

¹ Dr J. A. N. Patijn, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, at a luncheon for delegates of the League of Nations. See p. 208.

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The Government shares the wish expressed by several Members of Parliament that these efforts may powerfully penetrate every country without exception. They deserve all support our country can give them.

He said that of his country. What of ours ?

The world is slow to realise that the spiritual is more powerful than the material ; that God's plan for the world is infinitely greater and more perfect than any imposed by a government on its people ; that what we need is the dictatorship of the Holy Spirit.

Only a great spiritual experience on the part of national leaders of every party, class and creed will ever make any world conference or any League of Nations a workable basis for bringing peace. Such efforts must be God-directed. Mark you, there is no alternative.

We must let the Prince of Peace Himself dictate the programme of peace to men who have learned that the secret of peace lies first in their own hearts, then in their homes. Then they can hope to bring peace in the family of nations.

A peace conference or a League of Nations can only succeed with new men. First we must have new men. New nations will follow naturally and logically. Then we shall have a new world where war shall be no more, where faction shall not rise against faction, class against class, interest against interest, or nation against nation.

Children, too, understand these great truths. A boy of ten in East London says, "If you want to stop war in the world, stop war in the home." Ask yourself how many really happy homes you know—and the home is the basis of the nation's life.

Ask yourself, "Is your home governed by a democracy or a dictatorship ?" I fear that many, all too many, ardent advocates of democracy reserve for themselves the right to be dictators in

their own home. Selfish in the home, they have no constructive programme for a selfish world.

Disunity in the home makes disunity in the nation. Compromise and conflict sap the power of national life. Countless families everywhere, who want peace in the world, are waging a private war of their own, and so are robbing their country of a united effort. Thus democracy, too, misses in practice the experience of a God-led nation.

In industry, oftentimes, the forgotten factor is that God has a plan. And that forgotten factor is the key to every problem that industry faces. Only a new spirit in men can bring a new spirit in industry and create the fair play and efficiency that industry needs. Industry can be the pioneer of a new order.

A Canadian farmer whose crops have failed for eight years—last year through drought, this year through grasshoppers—says, "The greatest hardship we can have on our farm would be to get out of touch with God."

Today one hears too much the voice of man. One is sated with it. One longs again for the Voice of God. Yes, longs for the Voice of God to become the voice of the people, the Will of God the will of the people.

Then a new spirit would sweep all countries, overcome all difficulties, bridge all points of view, conquer all prejudices, enhance all primary loyalties, and give unity to national life. A whole nation can respond to the great essentials. An Oxford shop girl says, "What England needs is a Magna Carta inspired by God and signed by everybody." A valid religious experience would be the foundation stone of the State.

To be valid in these decisive days, our religious experience must once again become a marching, fighting, conquering world force. A mighty change on a colossal scale is the only hope left. This change begins with a change in human nature through Jesus Christ.

CHAOS AGAINST GOD

New men—new homes—new industry—new nations—a new world.

The world is anxiously waiting to see what Jesus Christ can do in, by, for and through one man wholly given to Him—God-led. You can be that man.

The world is anxiously waiting to see what Jesus Christ can do in, by, for and through one nation wholly given to Him—a nation God-led. It can be your nation.

A nation led by God will lead the world.

LABOUR'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

*At a luncheon given in honour of Dr Buchman
by the National Trade Union Club, London,
November, 1938*

I WANT TO SAY at the outset how happy I am to be here today. I am glad I can have the luncheon in this upper room, in these surroundings hallowed by many an hour of the fellowship of those who have the cause of the worker nearest their hearts. You must have hatched out many a plot here ! I feel at home with old revolutionaries, like those sitting here, Ben Tillett and Tom Mann. What I like about you men is that you are hard-hitters and square-shooters. You and others here know what it is to face persecution. I am a revolutionary, too, and I know what persecution means. It was during a time of great persecution that God gave this thought to me—"Persecution is the fire that forges prophets."

The Oxford Group is a revolutionary movement. That is the reason Labour understands it. That is why the Oxford Group understands Labour. They are both out for revolution.

I am talking to men who are authorities in their special subjects, men with vast experience. We can't hope to cover in twenty minutes all the important questions involved. The main point I want to make is that the background we need for solving all these important questions is a new spirit, new men with a new spirit.

Think of the new spirit that Keir Hardie brought into the world of Labour. Think of the debt England and the world owe socially and economically to Keir Hardie.

LABOUR'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

British Labour was cradled in a spiritual awakening. Who can measure the far-reaching effects in social and economic policy of such an awakening?

We believe in trade revival, in business revival. But there is an even more important factor—and this is the aim of Moral Re-Armament—moral and spiritual revival that leads into a spiritual revolution and a social and economic renaissance. As President Roosevelt has said, "I doubt if there is any problem—social, political or economic—that would not melt before the fire of a spiritual awakening."

British Labour and Moral Re-Armament have the same birthplace—East Ham. And the same spirit that cradled British Labour has cradled Moral Re-Armament, and it, too, has caught the imagination of the world.

Leaders of British Labour recently wrote in the *Daily Herald* :

Basically, the world unrest is to be found in the root disease of materialism showing itself in widespread selfishness, fear and greed—not in this nation or that, but in all. We are all guilty. Labour in all countries, if true to its traditions of placing human and spiritual values before material things, can build bridges over national barriers and play a decisive part in the reconciliation of nations.

It can make such a contribution to world conditic that the voice of faction and self-interest can be effectively dealt with, fear will go and God's great plan for mankind will be revealed and find expression. Such was the dynamic spirit of the best of the early Labour leaders, and it must again be recreated. This is what Moral Re-Armament means for Labour.

I have known and shared the lot of the working man. My first venture was a home for working boys in an industrial city. I wanted them to have sufficient food and the right

surroundings. I began by taking care of a family who had only had one poor room to live in. The father died in the alms house. The mother was a dipsomaniac. The children were little wild men. School to them was a penalty, and oftentime when I had them safely in school in the morning, by noon they were off again for another three days' holiday. Getting them started in a job didn't interest them, because that meant regular hours at work. For them it was a hardship even to sit down for three meals a day.

In addition I had difficulties with my Board. They did not understand the problems of nutrition and training. We got up against each other and it was then that I learnt that I too, like those children, wanted to have my own way and that the solution of our social problems lay in the human heart. When I changed, I found the spirit of those around me changed. We learnt to pull together. We learnt to unite.

That is the great lesson that Labour can teach the world. After a recent conference with Labour a leader said to me, "You have given us a new fellowship. It must become the spirit of a world fellowship."

"What we need is a new unity," says a friend who is sitting here with the other Labour women today. They as good housewives know what happens when they make jelly. It is the "jell" that makes the jelly, and every housekeeper knows that the secret is that the jelly must "jell" to give it consistency and unity. And that is what we need in Britain today. We need to "jell". We need the secret of unity.

I have a message today from the President of a CIO union in the steel industry in America. He came over to this country recently to study British Labour. He got a new vision for Labour in America. We have unusual conditions over there. We have a split, a schism. Not all the Labour leaders there see eye to eye ! This man's message was that the rival Labour leaders could see

LABOUR'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

eye to eye. They all ought to be different and then they all could get together.

My friend can say things like that, because everyone knows he is doing a good job and not looking for anything for himself. Think of the overhead of such a split in American Labour. Think how it saps our productive energy.

In one country we visited, two political parties openly called each other pickpockets. After our visit the leaders of these two parties got together. A new unity was born and out of it came new policies. The Conservatives became so constructive that the Labour Party passed a vote of confidence in them. The Labour leaders said, "On this basis we shall have to re-think the philosophy of Labour and build unity."

The world needs a new moral and spiritual climate. The Oxford Group is a national necessity because it is creating that moral and spiritual climate where people in every party, class and creed can live and work together.

Labour united can unite the nation. Labour led by God can lead the world.

MRA—A NATIONAL NECESSITY

*A New Year message, given at the request of the
British Press Association, January, 1939*

MRA MEANS personal and national Moral Re-Armament.

MRA is the answer to the dark forebodings and fears for 1939. It is the minimum necessary equipment for the New Year.

MRA is as essential as ARP, and takes away the fear. MRA is a commodity for every householder.

MRA stands for a prejudice-free level of living. It stands for a common denominator of immediate constructive action for everyone, above party, race, class, creed, point of view or personal advantage.

It is God's property—the new thinking, the new leadership that everyone wants. It means God in control personally and nationally. It means the knowledge and exact information that God's guidance brings. It is God's gift to bring an insane world to sanity.

MRA means honesty, purity, unselfishness and love—absolutely, personally and nationally. MRA means power to change people—our enemies as well as our friends—the other fellow and the other nation.

MRA is good for everyone, but necessary for us. It will help other nations, but most of all our own and ourselves. It will re-arm people and nations against selfish and divisive points of view.

The aim of MRA is twofold : first, to restore God to leadership as the directing force in the life of nations ; and then to work for the strengthening of morale within a country and so build a healthful national life.

MRA must go to every heart and home throughout the world.

MRA is a race with time to remake men and nations. It is the ordinary man's opportunity to remake the world.

5. America—1939

In the spring of 1939, Frank Buchman returned to the United States for the first time in three years. With him went a force of 130 trained workers from many nations—veterans of a number of European campaigns

The purpose of this visit was to make known the idea of Moral Re-Armament across the whole American continent. Frank Buchman knew that to popularise a simple but revolutionary idea among a people of 130 millions it was necessary to “make news”.

At Visby he had said, “Take the word Gospel. Gospel means ‘good news’,” and he had quoted Isaiah, “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings . . . that publisheth salvation.”

The presentation of Moral Re-Armament in America “made news”. Its message was published from coast to coast by press and radio. Frank Buchman and his team organised great meetings in New York, Washington and Los Angeles. On each occasion the four pylons of Moral Re-Armament, symbolising the four absolute moral standards, were raised among the flags of the nations, while national costumes and music emphasised the world-spanning scope of MRA. A band of kilted Scots, with the pipes at their head, drew thunderous appreciation from the warm-hearted American crowds.

Before launching this campaign, Frank Buchman was invited to address the country’s leading newspapermen at the National Press Club in Washington.

A REPORT TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

*An address on the response to Moral Re-Armament in
Britain; Washington, 8 May, 1939*

THREE GREAT TASKS confront this generation. To keep the peace and make it permanent. To make the wealth and work of the world available to all and for the exploitation of none. And with peace and prosperity as our servants and not our masters, to build a new world, create a new culture and change the age of gold into the Golden Age.

Often men have believed they could achieve the Golden Age by their own efforts. But man's wisdom has proved wanting. Today we are at our wit's end. The new world we all long for will not come by our own wisdom, but by obedient co-operation with God in the task of Moral Re-Armament. MRA points the way. It is God's answer to this generation.

What this age needs is a new pattern of democracy, designed by God and worked by everyone.

Let me report to you something of the wide response to Moral Re-Armament across the Atlantic. A recent remarkable series of letters in the London *Times* and other papers brought it to the attention of Europe. Its urgent need as the strength of national life was stressed in a statement signed by a group of Members of Parliament from different parties :

Democracy without high character disintegrates. Nor is it enough to be the self-appointed judge of other systems. In an age when lowered moral standards have become a breeding-ground for destructive forces, is it not time for democracy to

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seek again the sources of her strength, and to demonstrate to the world the power of moral principles? . . . A crusade for Moral Re-Armament appears to be spreading rapidly and providing a common meeting-ground in many of the chief storm centres of the world. We believe there would be general agreement among thinking men that something of this kind is generally required. . . .

A history-making letter which stirred Europe¹ and which included in its signatories, as an expression from the fighting forces, a Marshal of the Royal Air Force, an Admiral of the Fleet and two Field Marshals, as well as senior statesmen like Lord Salisbury and Lord Baldwin, contained these words :

The real need of the day is therefore moral and spiritual re-armament. . . . A growing body of people in this and other countries are making it their aim. . . . Were we, together with our fellow men everywhere, to put the energy and resourcefulness into this task that we now find ourselves obliged to spend on national defence, the peace of the world would be assured.

God's living Spirit calls each nation, like each individual, to its highest destiny, and breaks down the barriers of fear and greed, of suspicion and hate. This same Spirit can transcend conflicting political systems, can reconcile order and freedom, can re-ignite true patriotism, can unite all citizens in the service of the nation and all nations in the service of mankind.

¹ This letter, with others in this series, was reprinted in most European countries and also in Egypt, Palestine, Persia, India, Burma, South Africa and Australia. In some of these countries practically all papers, representing every shade of political opinion, reproduced the series of letters and made them the subject of editorial comment.

No world movement can succeed which does not have the support of Labour. Fortunately Moral Re-Armament has this support. The present chairman of the Trades Union Congress, representing five million workers, and three former chairmen, are wholeheartedly back of it. It is the new thinking and the new philosophy that everybody wants. Moral Re-Armament was cradled in East London, birthplace of the British Labour Movement. This is what Tod Sloan says—one of Keir Hardie's old collaborators in the Labour Movement. He describes himself as a "watchmaker by trade and agitator by nature":

Here in East London the people are really hungry for a new leadership. They want this new thinking and since Moral Re-Armament came to West Ham it has reached out in all directions, and today there are many homes where whole families are living this quality of life.

This to me is the only revolution that matters—the change in human nature—and it does happen.

My final word comes from a group of your colleagues in Britain—newspaper publishers and editors. Writing in their trade journal the *Newspaper World* they stated their conviction that the programme of Moral Re-Armament is the "primary condition of national service":

In this we in the Press, who set so high a store by our traditions of responsible freedom, have a special part to play. This requires of us . . . that we deliberately set ourselves to create and inspire through our newspapers the will to unity and active reconstruction in the nation. This is a practical contribution which we can all make at this time, as well as the best defence of our professional freedom.

A REPORT TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

A week later the following response from a group of newspaper men appeared in the same columns :

We, the undersigned working journalists, all members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, welcome the letter published by you last week from the representatives of the proprietors' and journalists' organisations, emphasising the decisive part which the Press can play in the moral and spiritual re-armament of the nation.

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for this ideal, and thus build

Bridges from man to man,
The whole round earth to span.

BACKBONE OF THE REAL AMERICA

*At the National Meeting for Moral Re-Armament in
Constitution Hall, Washington, 4 June, 1939¹*

MRA IS THE TRIUMPH of a God-given thought. It came as the answer to a crisis that threatened civilisation. A re-emphasis of old truths was let loose in the world—simple home-spun truths that have been the backbone of the real America—the guidance of God and a change of heart.

Everyone agreed that these great truths had to be recaptured, re-lived and restored to authority—truths which, were they practised, would bring the answer. The phrase that riveted itself upon the attention of men and women everywhere was “Moral and Spiritual Re-Armament”.

Leadership of the future goes to the men of moral courage ; the men who ask and give three feet to the yard, sixteen ounces to the pound. As Americans, as patriots, we find that MRA is the common denominator on which everyone can unite. In an age of material perfection we must usher in the age of spiritual

¹ On this occasion, when Moral Re-Armament was launched in Washington, Senator Truman read a message of support from President Roosevelt. Other messages of support to this meeting were also received from 240 Members of the British House of Commons, from a distinguished group of Members of the House of Lords, from British industrial and trade union leaders, and from representatives of Governments and Parliaments in all parts of the world, as well as from many leaders of American life.

Senator Truman's report to Congress on this meeting is given on p. 216. In concluding his address he said, “It is rare in these days to find something which will unite men and nations on a plane above conflict of party, class or political philosophy. I am sure that I voice the sentiment of all of us here today in expressing gratification at a response so remarkable to a need so urgent, and confidence that America will play her full part in this cause on whose fortunes the future of civilisation must largely depend.”

force. The Voice of God must become the voice of the people ; the Will of God the will of the people. This is the true democracy.

America is not without her problems in business, the home, in industry, in civic and in government life. We need a re-dedication of our people to the elementary virtues of honesty, unselfishness and love ; and we must have the will again to find what unites people rather than what divides them. It must become the dawn of a new era, a new age, a new civilisation.

The future depends not only on what a few men may decide to do in Europe, but upon what a million men decide to be in America.

AN ILLUMINED AMERICA

From a talk to students and faculty at Oglethorpe University, Georgia, June, 1939. On the previous day the University had conferred on Dr Buchman the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws

AMERICA may not have been moving from war crisis to war crisis, but we have had plenty of economic crises. It seems to many people that we have been moving from depression to depression and from strike to strike. What will happen to America if war comes to Europe?

If, as Emerson suggests, America is God's last chance to make a world, then we have to have a different America. That means different people—new men with a new spirit. An age of speed does not easily lend itself to the creation of great new productive ideas. America today demands everything in tabloid form. It is one of the major products of our bald materialism. Heaven help the man who tries to outline in twenty minutes the new thinking and the new philosophy that everyone needs!

A great new revolution came into my life when I began to listen to God each morning. The danger of our age is that we fail to listen. We talk, talk, talk. The answer is listening—that is the secret. It is open to all.

Everyone wants to illumine America, but so many want to do it without installing an electric light plant. We must get the new spirit through men. Universities hold a key position in bringing this about. The function of universities in a world crisis is to create new men who can fashion the new civilisation.

America needs a challenge to a new national quality of life which will empower her to speak with authority to the world because she has an answer at home. She needs Moral Re-

AN ILLUMINED AMERICA

Armament on a large enough scale to bring a new factor into her own life and then to every other nation. We need a new solidarity—national unity with one aim, one mind, one goal. The battle must be won over here, if we are to win the battle “over there”.

America can give a whole new pattern to civilisation. The time is over-ripe. We must change and give a worldwide message with a national voice.

PREVIEW OF A NEW WORLD

*At the Hollywood Bowl, California, 19 July, 1939*¹

TONIGHT IS A PREVIEW of a new world—the world of which we have dreamed, and Hollywood is a matchless setting for this preview.

Moral Re-Armament is the ordinary man's opportunity to remake the world. It is a world necessity. It is finding a world response.

The clouds of fear and insecurity hang heavy over the nations. Hate and fear are at work everywhere, undermining confidence, destroying hopes. Leaders and citizens alike, every one of us, are longing for permanent peace.

But longing for peace is not enough. There must be a new spirit. There must be a fight against the causes of conflict, against selfishness, greed and hate. In this battle everyone has a part.

Moral Re-Armament is the scenario of a Golden Age—a God-directed production—a preview of a new world. Hollywood, that goes to every home, can become the sounding board for Moral Re-Armament to the nations.

Look at those four standards. See how they reach up strong, unbroken to the stars. They are the four standards of Moral Re-Armament—absolute honesty, absolute unselfishness, absolute love and absolute purity—personally and nationally. They

¹ Over 30,000 people crowded the Hollywood Bowl for the Moral Re-Armament "Call to the Nations" assembly on 19 July, 1939, and 15,000 had to be turned away. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported (20 July, 1939), "They came, in limousines, they arrived in jalopies that barely chugged along the traffic-jammed roads leading to the Hollywood Bowl. They came afoot, in wheel chairs, in buses, taxicabs. One and all, they came marching." An account of the messages received on this occasion from every part of the world, will be found on p. 220.

PREVIEW OF A NEW WORLD

are the four standards of personal, national and international life.

The Moral Re-Armament of America begins when you and I face them honestly and obey courageously.

MRA will win, because it advances with the strength of a united mind, because it awakens the fire of true patriotism, because it holds the secret of lasting peace.

III

THE WAR YEARS

Moral Re-Armament shares equally in importance with material re-armament in these critical days.

THE HON. CHARLES A. EDISON

Secretary of the Navy, Washington, 1940

The Eve of War

The Second World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament met on the eve of war on the Monterey peninsula, California.

The final sessions of the Assembly were held in San Francisco at the World's Fair, and representatives of many nations spoke by radio to the world. Messages were also received from many countries, from nine Premiers and from leading members of twenty Parliaments.

Lord Halifax, then British Foreign Secretary, cabled :

I am glad to add my greetings to those of so many thousands of my countrymen who have joined in the National Message to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament. Fresh insistence in thought and action on those principles of morality and faith which are fundamental, will not only build national well-being, but is the only source from which we may draw sure hope for peace and prosperity for a disturbed world.

In the three addresses made by Dr Buchman during July and August, the reader finds an echo of the speeches delivered in Interlaken a year before. The failure of human wisdom unaided to find the answer to crisis had been all too clearly demonstrated during the intervening months. There was still time for a solution to be found, yes, but the terms of that solution were inflexible, and the causes of war had roots deeply sunk in the lives of nations. Nevertheless there is a certainty which reaches far beyond the immediate crisis, because it is based on eternal values.

WE MUST FORGE NEW WEAPONS

*From the opening address to the Second World Assembly
for Moral Re-Armament, 22 July, 1939*

ONE YEAR AGO we met at Interlaken, Switzerland, under the threat of war. The thought that riveted the attention of the world at that time was "Guidance or Guns". The intervening months have only served to emphasise the truth of that alternative. It is clearer now than ever before that Moral Re-Armament is the essential foundation for any world settlement.

The next step is for men and women in every nation to enlist in MRA for the duration.

At times of great crisis people just naturally look to God, and they expect their leaders to give them the lead. In a fateful hour when pronouncements are made, men hope against hope that there will be some force at work that will put off what we all deserve.

We are waging the greatest battle of history in this world war against selfishness. We must forge new weapons of warfare. We cannot live on the past. Our weapons of statesmanship seem like relics from the armoury of some illustrious ancestor, which in their day were useful, but now, out-moded, leave us defeated and defenceless. We must have superior forces of spiritual armour. We need for reconstruction the same characteristics that distinguish a great general—the plus of character, the plus that will change the world.

Events are focusing us on the only programme of sane control—God-control. I was called into conference with one of the great world statesmen. He simply said that he was living in an

WE MUST FORGE NEW WEAPONS

insane world. He began to realise the great truth that the only sane people in an insane world are those guided by God.

We all agree on one thing—that we ought to be different, and that the world ought to be different. If people were different and had the power to change men and nations, that would be the answer to all our problems.

We will find our national security only in Moral Re-Armament. Moral Re-Armament will become the keynote of world reconstruction. The choice is "Guidance or Guns". We must listen to guidance or we will listen to guns. The choice is between a vortex of fear and a pageant of triumph.

THE ONE SURE HOPE

*A broadcast¹ to South America and the Far East,
22 August, 1939*

THE PERMANENT CURE for crisis can only be found in the fearless application of Moral Re-Armament by the statesmen and the people of all nations. This spirit dominating the counsels of nations provides the one sure hope of a just and lasting settlement.

We need to think not of man's plan, not of this or that nation's plan, but of God's plan. Again we face a time of crisis—crisis that teaches men that man's extremity is God's opportunity.

The Oxford Group is accustomed to crisis, because MRA was born in crisis in the dark days of last year. MRA was born in East London, the cradle of the workers' movement. In twelve months, Moral Re-Armament has girdled the globe and brought the message of constructive answer. It has spread with speed, because it is the fundamental cure for a fundamental disease.

We all look at the headlines. But we can do more than that. Moral Re-Armament is everybody's chance to do something about them. We can look at ourselves and our own nation, and see where we need to be different. For when men change, nations change.

Moral Re-Armament is a world network of hate-free, fear-free, greed-free people. MRA speaks across frontiers and across barriers of class, race and conflicting political systems. These men and women have sworn an enduring pact with God and with each other to bring their nations into the master pattern of a new world.

¹ From the Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco; Station KGEL.

THE FORGOTTEN FACTOR

A world broadcast,¹ 27 August, 1939

I SPEAK ON BEHALF of those millions, known and unknown, in every country who have found in Moral Re-Armament a common life transcending all the barriers that separate man from man and nation from nation, and who are convinced that Moral Re-Armament is the only permanent cure for crisis.

. There is an answer to crisis and it must be made known.

Crisis shows our failure. Before crisis ends in catastrophe, have we the courage to face its real cause? We ourselves are the cause. It is the way every nation and every one of us has been living that has brought us where we are.

Every nation and every individual is responsible for the existing situation.

The failure lies not with one nation, but with all. We are all to blame. For in every nation those forces are at work which create bitterness, disunity and destruction. Nations, like individuals, have turned a blind eye to their own faults while pointing the finger at each other. Selfish men and selfish women make front line trenches necessary. A wave of unselfishness sweeping through our nation and every other nation would be the permanent answer to war.

We have all wanted peace. We have sought it in pacts, in leagues, in alliances, in changes of systems, in economic and disarmament conferences, and we have sought in vain. We have wanted peace, but we have never yet paid the price of peace—the price of facing with God where we and our nations have been wrong, and how we and our nation, as God directs, can put wrong right.

¹ From Station WRUL, Boston, Ma. chusetts.

A new spirit comes when we make an honest apology for our own mistakes instead of spot-lighting the mistakes of the other nation. There is a common meeting ground in the fact that we all need to change—nations as well as men. In a crisis of this kind, if leaders change, they can change their people. If people change, they can change their leaders.

The crisis is moral and can only be met in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament—the spirit of honesty, justice, and love. Moral Re-Armament means the power to change people—your enemies as well as your friends, the other nations as well as your own. We must be prepared for unexpected paradoxes.

Every man is responsible for his nation. Nations will make honest apologies and rectify past mistakes when the peoples of those nations demand that kind of national policy.

Each man has an immediate part to play. He can accept for himself a change of heart. He can decide to listen to God daily. He can start to build a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world.

The sacrifice necessary for lasting peace is nothing compared with the sacrifice of war.

There is still time for a selfish, fear-driven world to listen to the living God. The forgotten factor in diplomacy is that God has an inspired plan for peace, and the means to carry it out through men and women who are willing to obey.

Above every other loyalty is loyalty to God. In obedience to the God of all peoples every nation will find its true destiny. This is the truest patriotism. It requires the highest courage. It gives the greatest strength.

A nation's surest defence is the love and gratitude of her neighbours. The people of the nations will support to the utmost those statesmen who shall seek in this spirit to avert catastrophe and build that peace without bitterness which all men desire. Will the statesmen and leaders of every nation unite in this programme which puts right the past and reconstructs the future?

The millions who already know these great truths must pass them on to the millions more. If those people who are listening now will ask those millions who are already living Moral Re-Armament how to begin, it will help change the world quickly.

We need now nation-wide thinking and action. We have war because we cannot make peace. We must point to the new era, the new type of personality, the new home, the new industry, the new type of government that, by force of its constructive programme, will outlaw war and industrial unrest. During these days we must develop the framers of the just peace—the peace that will be permanent.

The menace of war makes us re-think all our values. Personal and national surrender to God is a world necessity. Civilisation is at stake.

The future lies with the men and nations who listen to God and obey.

A WORLD PHILOSOPHY ADEQUATE FOR WORLD CRISIS

*World broadcasts, 29 October, 1939*¹

I

I AM SPEAKING TODAY to the millions across the world who in these anxious days are increasingly looking to Moral Re-Armament as the one hope for the future. Especially, I am thinking of the men in the front-line trenches, the men faced with the hard realities, the men who know what war is.

Yet where are the front-line trenches today? Today in many countries every civilian carries a gas mask, every garden has its air-raid shelter. It is a new phase in war, where everybody is responsible and every home is a front-line trench.

Our arts of reconciliation have not kept pace with the arts of war. The art of destruction is beginning to outpace the art of living. All our values are slipping as currencies slipped after the last war. As my friend the great Oxford philosopher, Dr Streeter, said, "A race that has grown up intellectually must grow up morally or perish."

Today we have reached the parting of the ways. Civilisation, man-controlled, is faced with collapse. The long-endured cycle of moving from crisis to crisis must end. Nations must move beyond crisis to cure.

A new world philosophy is needed, a world philosophy capable of creating a new era of constructive relationships

¹ Broadcast from Stations KGEI, San Francisco, and WRUL, Boston. Other speakers on this programme were Senator Harry S. Truman, Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd, and Mr H. H. Elvin, Chairman of the British Trades Union Congress, 1938, and Fraternal Delegate to the American Federation of Labour Convention, 1939.

between men and nations. A new statesmanship and a new leadership will ensue from this heightened quality of thinking and living.

This world philosophy will emerge as people begin to get their direction from the living God. It will be within the framework of a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free quality of living.

Think of the cost of hate, fear and greed. Millions of men and women must carry gas-masks today because men the world over have been living behind masks for years. Millions of men and women must grope through darkened cities because the nations have been living in a spiritual blackout. Millions of men and women today must listen to air-raid warnings because nations have not listened to the Voice of God in days gone by.

Times of crisis reveal the bankruptcy of our thought and action. Then we resort to feverish improvisation and expediency. Sheer economy of time and energy, and ultimate bankruptcy may force us to God-control.

Man today is ready to believe that human wisdom has failed. A situation is growing up in which people will want God to speak to them. They will have nothing else between themselves and desperation, as they read the changing, chimerical headlines that no-one wants. Men need some adequate voice to interpret and mould events. Expediency must be supplanted by guidance. And dark nights of waiting may prove a blessing in disguise, for guidance is a staple necessity that is not rationed.

The world is awaiting an answer. War is the price of the selfishness of nations. We must have some simple, workable answer available for everyone, and one that can be applied by all. We need people trained not only to make an adequate peace, but also to keep it. Most people are selfish enough to want a peace that permits them to wage their own private wars and foster their own petty indulgences. An American housewife asks, "Who is responsible for the selfishness and

greed in America today? Is it business, or labour? Or is it Mr and Mrs America in a million homes all over the country?"

Without the rise of a new spirit we shall pay heavily for our selfishness. An Army general said to me recently, "Either I sacrifice my selfishness for the sake of my nation, or I sacrifice my nation for the sake of my selfishness." And either we sacrifice our national selfishness for the sake of the world, or we sacrifice the world for the sake of our national selfishness.

The chief sin is that we have no adequate philosophy for life. Our conception of living is wrong—easy, soft, protective, indulgent. We need a whole new content and conception of life. The brains and the thinking of the world must have been sabotaged and squandered for a very long time to create such destruction of men and nations. I am reminded of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forceful phrase, "If we perspired more in time of peace, we should bleed less in time of war."

We have tried thinking and living as we want. Now try thinking and living as God wants. Try living as we want the other fellow to live. Try living as we want the other nation to live. Then our nation will be the spearhead of a new world order.

We need a whole new level of thinking about peace. If peace had demanded as much of us as war, war would have been outlawed long ago.

The world must declare a moratorium on hate and fear, personally and nationally. We cannot make peace between the nations when the people in the nations are in a state of permanent personal warfare. Strikes, labour difficulties and war are inevitable until we change our whole thought and quality of living.

The new peace pact must have as its preamble that all contracting parties, all nations, live on the basis of no hate, no fear, no greed. Someone must always *make* peace. For peace is not an idea; it is people becoming different. Most of us want to

make peace by repenting of the other fellow's sins. That is how the world would like to do it. But we cannot permanently go on expecting other nations to repent first. The MRA way is to start by being different yourself.

The necessary prelude to this happier pact is, that every individual, in every nation, begins that new quality of living now and does not postpone it for some future armistice. Then we shall be true patriots. Then there will be law and order in Europe and the world, within your hearts and within the boundary of your nation. Then we shall be able to say, "Behold how these nations love one another."

Children see these great truths. I quote from a letter sent me by two children who listen to God each morning with their father and mother. Kennie, aged eleven, says, "It is now our chance in America. I know how wars start. I used to fight with my sister. It began with arguing and disobeying God's orders and His four standards. Love from Kennie."

Here is his sister Anne's letter, "If we want to change the world, we will have to do what God tells us, or He won't give us power to do it. You must start obeying your parents when you are a child, and the four standards. Everybody ought to obey them, even children if they want to change their country. We ought to start now. If we don't, after the war everybody will want their own way. God is the only person who can give us power, and we can get it if we want to."

My only comment is, "A little child shall lead them."

The secret lies in listening to God. Men, unaided, cannot make peace. We must begin to develop the framers of the just and lasting peace of the future—the spiritually re-armed everywhere to be the pacemakers for the pacemakers of tomorrow.

A word of gratitude must go to the men in every nation who have responded to MRA, for what has been accomplished, and for the far-reaching service they have been able to render.

These people, far-visioned and sagacious, see that MRA is the highest patriotism.

Moral Re-Armament is bringing a new force into play, an indispensable force necessary for the life of every nation. Moral Re-Armament will be the focal point for the new national unity where God is the constant and final arbiter in every conflict. A truly united nation comes from a directing God. This philosophy will become the mainspring of the spirit of the nation, the magnet that will draw all positive forces together. It will give a new unity to Capital and Labour and bring the answer to industrial conflict and unrest. It will give the answer to war in the home and to war in the world. It will train that leadership which is adequate for the gigantic work of reconstruction, to rebuild a world which today stands on the brink of ruin.

II

As I am speaking here, within a fraction of a second I can reach my friends in many countries, my friends in the front-line trenches, the men in the lonely outposts whose only touch with the outside world is through the friendly radio beam which meets all alike, my friends in the far Nordic North, on India's North-West Frontier, on the African Veldt, in far off Australia and New Zealand, in the Dutch East Indies and the farthestmost corners of the earth.

We accept as a commonplace a man's voice carried by radio to the uttermost parts of the earth. Miracles of science have been the wonder of the age. But all those miracles have not brought peace and happiness to our homes and nations. A miracle of the spirit is what we need.

This miracle is undoubtedly the divinely appointed destiny of mankind. Who can believe less than that? Its advent depends on and awaits the emergence in every country of firm and resolute

God-guided men, with all the conviction, fire and fervour of early Christians. Their ever-widening influence would be invincible. A new national spirit would soon be born, a new co-operative relationship between the nations, if in every country there would arise a new leadership, free from the bondage of fear, rising above personal and national ambition and responsive to the direction of God's will.

Such a philosophy has been stated as the historic basis for nationhood by the prophets of old and has withstood the test of centuries. The prophet Isaiah says, "And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord and great shall be the peace of thy children. . . . Nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God."

The man charged with the foreign affairs of a great nation has said that what we need today are men of the type of the prophet Amos. British labour leaders in conference sent a message on MRA to the American capital with these words, "We need men who will make real the vision of the prophet Micah."

Moral Re-Armament is recapturing, re-vitalizing, re-living the message of the prophets. It is tried. It is true. It is tested.

Television points to a great truth. The ordinary man and the statesman must discover its counterpart—guidance—on the spiritual plane. Just as television is that space-conquering vision on the material plane, so guidance is the far-seeing perception on the spiritual. It is limited only by our capacity for disciplined obedience.

Guidance is when we are in communication with God. The first step in re-orientating our minds to God is to listen twice as much as we talk. This is a simple programme of how to begin. Yet here lies the strategy to win the world from her egocentric ways. For immediately self is the centre of the picture, there war has begun, whether in individuals or in nations. Fear is another kind of guidance. People are afraid, and so they will not fight the daily battle against selfishness.

Guidance is an absolute necessity and the irreducible minimum to keep millions spiritually and physically alive. It is the nation's life blood. Without it nations perish. Statesmen living this quality of life will make it possible for the Mind of God to become the mind of nations. Through lack of this quality in their statesmanship, nations sell their birthright. "If we are not governed by God, we will be ruled by tyrants," said William Penn.

MRA is the great central revolutionary force. I was personally at war. An experience of the Cross made me a new type of revolutionary.

We are waging the greatest battle of history in this world war against selfishness. Every man to his guns! We must call out the moral and spiritual forces. We need to live a quality of life that will change masses of people. It is because we had no such adequate action during the last decades that we are compelled to make the costly sacrifice of war. The way to outlive the forces of destruction is to build better and more wisely than we are building now.

God has a programme adequate for the world and for each nation, a programme that provides inspiration and liberty for all and anticipates all other political programmes. Our aim should be that everyone has not only enough of the necessities of life, but that he has a legitimate part in bringing about this Moral Re-Armament and so safeguards the peace of his nation and the peace of the world. Thus each individual who has enlisted in this programme can find a job he can do that will affect the civic, industrial and national welfare.

We need a national mobilisation for unemployment on the same scale and carried out with the same personal care that the warring nations have given to everyone who needed to be taken to a place of safety. The unemployed must have the safety and security which comes from knowing that they are needed and that there is a job for them to do. Thus each nation can use all its resources and find its truest security.

Our instant need is for millions to plan for the new world—not only a few statesmen meeting, but the united forces of the world backed by daily living and action that will support them in waging the eternal war against selfishness. Then we can begin to approximate to what is needed.

A national labour leader had the vision of a ten million membership for his organisation. Surely the united forces of reconstruction in the world can think in terms of a hundred million taking their orders from the living God. Thus they will have an advanced knowledge of tactics and a programme that will move men's hearts radically to alter their thinking and living. They will be an incomparable, unconquerable, irresistible army.

Think of the vast forces available—Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile. Think of the spiritually re-armed everywhere who may be the pacemakers for the pacemakers of tomorrow. MRA is open to all and bars none. It is a quality of life. You don't join and you can't resign. You live a life.

The call is to everyone, the ordinary man and the statesman, unitedly to carry the burdens of their country. Responsibility has too often been delegated to the few in the belief that the statesman is expected to do the thinking, planning and living that must become the concern of every man.

We must remake the world. The task is nothing less than that. Every man, woman and child must be enlisted, every home become a fort.

A world philosophy will be brought to power through the cumulative effect of millions of people beginning the experience of listening to God. True, it may be only an initial experience. Enlistment does not immediately make the trained soldier, but we can all begin.

Now is the time to enlist for the duration in this world war against selfishness. We must be fighters ever !

We stand at zero hour on the threshold of a new world order.

A Moratorium on Hate

In a front page article headed "Buchman Urges Moratorium on Hate and Fear," the New York Herald Tribune stated (30 October, 1939) :

An international moratorium on hate and fear is necessary if true peace is to prevail, Dr Frank N. D. Buchman, founder of the Oxford Group, said yesterday in a broadcast which was carried to the world by shortwave station WRUL, Boston, and was broadcast by Station WNYC in New York.

The sixty-one-year-old leader of a movement which has spread through more than fifty countries since its inception at Oxford University in 1921, spoke from the West Coast headquarters in the Hotel Fairmont, San Francisco, his voice being carried by direct wire to Boston. Other speakers on the programme were Senator Harry S. Truman, Democrat, of Missouri, who spoke from Washington ; Herbert H. Elvin, former president of the British Trades Union Congress, who joined the broadcast from London, and Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd. . . .

Senator Truman, praising Moral Re-Armament as having brought new hope to the American people, said he believed that the future of civilisation depended largely on the success of the programme. . . . "The hope of a new world—united, strong, and free as never before—has come to the hearts of Americans from coast to coast as they watched this new spirit unite husband and wife, parents and children, employer and employees, statesmen and citizens. . . . It is rare in these days to find something which will unite men and nations on a plane above conflict of party, class or political philosophy."

Mr Elvin told the radio audience . . . : "The policy of 'safety first' can only lead to a betrayal of moral and Christian principle, and a breaking of solemn obligations entered into. God must enter all departments of life. . . . It is because those who have experienced Moral Re-Armament know what it means to dedicate themselves to God for service to man, that they suggest that this is the message which the world needs at this time, and ask, urge you to try it."

Admiral Byrd said : "I speak from Boston. Greetings to all you who

A MORATORIUM ON HATE

are listening, no matter what country you may be in. It was on my lonely vigil during the long Polar night that I learned the power of silence—of quiet times. The values and the problems of life sorted out when I began to listen.

"I went exploring because I was fired by those pioneers of history who felt the urge of charting uncharted seas and discovering unknown places. However, today in the crisis which threatens to destroy freedom and civilisation the most important pioneering to be done is in the realm of the spirit.

"America's first line of defence is the character of her citizens. Character cannot be taken for granted. If we are going to preserve freedom, it has to be battled for by every man, woman and child—every day and every generation. Without character man doesn't deserve freedom, so he loses it. A man of character has a deep sympathy for his fellow man ; he wishes his neighbour well. We are all neighbours today.

"On the eve of my departure for the Antarctic I want to say that I believe that this way lies the hope for peace.

"Moral Re-Armament—the fight for a new world—strong, clean, united—should fire the hearts of all red-blooded Americans and stir their wills to action."

MRA IN THREE CONTINENTS

Over the weekend of December 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1939, a world-wide series of broadcasts was arranged, and millions listened to the programme of Moral Re-Armament. On December 2nd, Dr Buchman summarised the events in the following short-wave broadcast :

I AM VERY GLAD to be able to greet the many listeners, known and unknown, throughout the world who are taking part in this historic December weekend.

Think of the far-flung network of listeners in this and every land—statesmen, Labour leaders, business men, sportsmen and workmen, men of vision, united in a common purpose for a common cause. Think what it may mean for world reconstruction—people united in the realisation that human wisdom has failed and that human expediency must be supplanted by divine guidance.

Lord Athlone yesterday in a prophetic broadcast from London gave an inspired lead.

In this country we heard the veteran leader of the House of Representatives, Speaker Bankhead, who voiced for America in a moving and dynamic way the ageless truth which Lord Athlone voiced for Britain. The Speaker said :

I am glad tonight to inaugurate in the Americas the programme for this first weekend of December, when people throughout the world will hear the challenge of Moral Re-Armament.

After speaking of the new spirit arising in the nation's capital and throughout America, he continued :

We stand today at a decisive moment in history. Forces of unmeasured strength are on the march. Is

there a force which can rally the recuperative powers of mankind and win the race with chaos? There is a force which can outmarch all others and which, if we will, can shape the future. It is the mighty onslaught of a new spirit challenging men and nations to a change of heart. It is the cumulative effect of millions of people who listen to God and obey. Where we have been true to this spirit, man has prospered; where we have neglected it, nations have declined. Now is our chance to re-create for ourselves and for our children the way of true patriotism—the way of Moral Re-Armament. So prepared, we can decide aright the fateful issues of the hour.

Would that television, with its space-conquering miracle, could have unlimited scope and that each one of you might see before you the moving pageant of the men and women listening throughout the nations today.

In Great Britain alone, I understand, no fewer than 25,000 listening parties have been arranged. Lord Mayors, Lord Provosts, Mayors and Provosts of over five hundred cities, representing more than half the population of Britain, have issued a united call for Moral and Spiritual Re-Armament to their people.

Similar response comes from the British Dominions beyond the seas and from the outposts of Empire. In our great neighbour to the north, there is Dominion-wide interest. The Mayor of Toronto with his fellow Canadian Mayors has issued a proclamation for Moral Re-Armament which is being broadcast throughout the land.

What will be the response of Canada's listening millions? Lady Minto, widow of a great Governor General of Canada, whose sister the Dowager Countess of Antrim is speaking today from England, has pointed to Canada's future in these prophetic words, "Canada, united under the Dominion of God, has a

historic opportunity to lead the Empire and the nations into the spacious freedom of a world at peace within itself."

In Holland people have gathered through all the Provinces to listen. There are listening groups in offices and factories, homes and churches. They have taken as their theme, "National rebirth to become reconcilers of nations." In Amsterdam, Catholic and Protestant members of Parliament and civic leaders have taken Holland's largest hall so that all unitedly may listen. Later in this hour you will hear the messages not only from the mother country Holland, but from her possessions across the seas where they, too, are listening.

All through these days the Scandinavians have been preparing on a nation-wide scale to have their share in this programme. Everywhere people will be listening, men who have been in the forefront of the cultural renaissance, Labour leaders, authors, business men, editors and housewives.

Here I would like to quote a message from the women of Finland, who, inspired by the lead of the Finnish President's wife, recently issued a call for Moral Re-Armament. They said, "In this way we can, with our own lives, build and fortify our country's unity and power. It is to this mobilisation that we now call every woman. We, our people, the Nordic North, all the nations of the world, must return to listening to and obeying the living God."

Those of you who now sit in the comfort of your homes and still enjoy a measure of security must begin to plan to do something adequate to meet the critical situation in your own national life before it is too late. We must give to nations this new weapon of guidance and direction which listening to God brings. The security of a nation is grounded in the strength of her listening people.

In Switzerland, that country great in the spirit of liberty and independence, assemblies of people of different races and

languages are taking part in this programme all over the country. A young Swiss, a front-line fighter, whose work for MRA has received national recognition, sends the following :

The reconstruction of a new Europe is possible only with a realistic knowledge of the problems which are bringing about the death of the old Europe. The future of the world lies in the hands of men of action who give themselves to realise concretely the creative thoughts they receive from the living God.

In France groups of listeners are meeting in city and village, farm and factory. Political leaders and authors through the newspapers and through radio are calling the people of the French Empire to listen. They ask that all be thankful for what has been received through their Christian civilisation and for what their forefathers and country have given them. They call for an inventory of failures and of gifts, and ask their people to consider each individual's responsibility in bringing about the Moral Re-Armament of their country.

China, land of the teeming millions with their indomitable spirit, is taking part. Three radio stations are broadcasting the message of Moral Re-Armament in Chinese and English. They are planning for the news of MRA in all the great Chinese and English dailies. Posters and pamphlets in Chinese and English are having wide distribution.

These precious moments on the air are all too few and forbid me to take you to all the farthest corners of the earth.

I would just like to give you a picture of what is happening in two American cities—one is San Francisco, the city of the Golden West, where three of these broadcasts have originated, the influence of which has gone throughout the world. The three day observance was inaugurated in San Francisco at twelve noon on the steps of the City Hall. San Francisco's five local

stations also carried their own MRA programme with business men, doctors, columnists, shipyard workers and employers among the speakers.

In Los Angeles, Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri and Mayor Bowron inaugurated that city's part in the programme. The Mayor, who had earlier issued a proclamation, introduced Senator Truman's broadcast. All over America, from coast to coast, people are part of this world audience.

Morally and spiritually, we must enlist and mobilise vast armies of people who are conscious of God as the directing force for their own and for their nation's life. We must rally the forces of right for a great positive constructive advance. The spirit that refuses to hate when men are hateful. The spirit that is just when others are unjust. The spirit that is unselfish when others are selfish. These are the men that can be used by the Prince of Peace to make peace.

Today we are thinking more especially of those for whom this is an initial enlistment and who have yet to learn the discipline necessary to make the answer effective in these fateful days. We are thinking, too, of those who in sheer desperation are crying out, "Everything else has failed. Why not try God?"

This is the era of the ordinary man—like you and me—millions of us, a great world family of listeners, remakers of the world.

"Today," in the words of British civic leaders, "when our whole world is threatened with ruin, we feel more urgently than ever before the need for that new force of Moral Re-Armament which can create a new world, a world of sanity and order, a world of plenty and peace.

"Amid the failure of human wisdom, there is still one Supreme Source from whom all can draw new power, new hope, new illumination. God speaks directly to the heart of every man and every woman who is prepared to listen and obey."

MRA IN THREE CONTINENTS

George Washington listened at a time of conflict, and gave a nation freedom.

Benjamin Franklin listened at a time of chaos, and brought a nation order.

Abraham Lincoln listened at a time of crisis, and preserved a nation's unity.

Will you listen today ?

A Call to Our Citizens

During this weekend of December 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1939, a call for Moral Re-Armament was issued by the Civic Heads of 550 cities and towns in Great Britain. This "Call to Our Citizens", which was broadcast to the nation and Empire by the Earl of Athlone, reads :

TODAY, when our whole world is threatened with ruin, we feel more urgently than ever before the need for that new force of Moral Re-Armament which can create a new world, a world of sanity and order, a world of plenty and of peace.

We cannot live for ever from one crisis to another, from one war to the next. We seek a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world, where every nation can enrich the common life of all, where every man has his work to do. This, not recurring crisis and destruction, is the God-given destiny of mankind.

Amid the failure of human wisdom, there is still one Supreme Source from Whom all can draw new power, new hope, new illumination. God speaks directly to the heart of every man and woman who is prepared to listen and obey. . . .

We deeply need the leadership of God-led men and women who base their lives on the Christian principles of honesty, unselfishness and faith. Such men and women will not only make the morale of the country impregnable; they will today create and spread that spirit which will ensure a just and lasting peace.

This new spirit must come. We owe it to ourselves, our children and our children's children. One hundred million listening to God across the world can realise the words of the prophet of old : "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children."

We call on you to play your full part in this highest form of national service. May our own community be in the vanguard of this advance, to lead the world on to sanity and peace.

The Faith of Democracy

During the years of war the work of Moral Re-Armament, whose genius has always been to bridge human differences and Frontiers, advanced to a great extent within national boundaries. The changing of human lives went on, foundations were laid and workers were trained in every corner of the world.

Frank Buchman, at home in America, saw clearly his own country's needs and threw himself into the battle to meet them. Again and again, his speeches recalled the nation to the sources of her greatness and the faith of her democracy.

*This philosophy was emphasised in the MRA national defence handbook, *You Can Defend America*,¹ with its foreword by General Pershing. 1,350,000 copies of this handbook were circulated in the United States. It was also dramatised in the war revue, *You Can Defend America*, which was shown in twenty States before 250,000 people at the invitation of Governors, Legislatures, Mayors, Defence Councils, industrial and labour leaders.*

The Washington columnist, Gould Lincoln, commented in the Star (Washington, 1 December, 1942) :

Long before this country became involved in the conflict, Dr Buchman and his Group sought to arouse Americans and to lay the foundations in home and in factory for the tremendous task that inevitably lay ahead.

You Can Defend America, written almost in words of one syllable, was the challenging call put out by Dr Buchman and the Moral Re-Armament Group. . . . It preached in a plain, simple way, "Sound homes, teamwork in industry, a united nation," as the necessary background for a fighting America.

¹ For a fuller account of the *You Can Defend America* programme, see p. 225.

The War-time Programme of MRA

The effects of this programme were felt at crucial points in America's war effort as Frank Buchman and his fellow workers dramatised their message on platform and stage, over the radio and through MRA Training Centres and industrial Round Tables, from coast to coast in the United States and Canada. Their emphasis on the forgotten moral and spiritual factors began to change stubborn industrial situations. The influence of this work was summarised in an article in the Army and Navy Journal (Washington, 6 May, 1944):

"Napoleon's axiom, 'Morale is to material as three is to one' has been upset. The ratio now stands at six to one." This statement of General Marshall's takes on new importance as we make preparations to strike with an invasion force. Our leaders know that to the excellence of arms and training must be added the decisive weapons of heart, mind and will to absorb the shock of battle and carry through to victory.

An important factor in building this fighting spirit on both battle front and home front has been the programme of Moral Re-Armament. In a report recently published here, a group of British leaders, political, industrial and military, write: "National strength springs from the spirit of the people. In time of war that spirit is decisive, and it will be no less needed in the years after victory. For this reason we, with large numbers of representative citizens in this country, recognise the vital importance of the work for Moral Re-Armament and believe that they should be given every encouragement in their essential national service. Their work has proved its success in bringing to life for men and women of all classes the great spiritual values which are the fabric of our nation and for which we battle."

The MRA programme was outlined for America eight months before Pearl Harbour in terms of sound homes, teamwork in industry and national unity, in a widely read handbook entitled *You Can Defend America*, with a foreword by General Pershing. This was dramatised

WAR-TIME PROGRAMME OF MRA

in a war revue of the same name which in the next year and a half was shown before a quarter of a million people in over twenty States, and which was the spearhead of campaigns to build a war-winning spirit throughout the nation.

Since Pearl Harbour Moral Re-Armament has been credited by competent observers such as Senator Truman and Congressman Wadsworth with increasing war production in many key aircraft plants and shipyards. Senator Truman said of MRA : "They have rendered great assistance to the all-out war programme by creating the spirit of co-operation between management and labour, reducing absenteeism, heightening all-round efficiency and increasing production. There is not a single industrial bottleneck I can think of which could not be broken in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead."

Maj.-Gen. Francis B. Wilby, Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, after inspecting the results of their work on the home front, said : "This is the arm behind the army." Admiral Richard E. Byrd described it as "the fight for a new America, strong, clean and united".

In Britain, which has faced invasion and blitz, MRA has played a distinctive part in toughening the spirit of the people. In the dedication of her war-time best seller of stories of heroism on the home front, *Come Wind, Come Weather*, Daphne du Maurier, author of *Rebecca*, praised MRA's contribution in Britain's hour of crisis, and said : "I want especially to thank an American, Dr Frank N. D. Buchman, whose initial vision for Moral Re-Armament made possible their work."

During the four and a half years of war, soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations have thronged MRA's training centres in America, England, Canada and Australia. A soldier visiting the London MRA headquarters the other day said, "MRA added a plus to my training. I knew what I was fighting against. Now I know what I am fighting for."

In Norway and other occupied countries Moral Re-Armament has stood up as an unshakable centre of resistance to the Nazi oppression. Though some of its leaders have undergone imprisonment and death, MRA remains a bulwark for a liberated Europe.

We are fighting a war not alone of arms but of ideas. The victor must be strong in both. Cutting through the selfish, soft materialism

and moral confusion of the last two decades, MRA has taken the soldierly virtues of discipline, sacrifice and team-work, of patriotism essential both in war and peace, and applied them fearlessly to home life, industrial and national life. In this battle MRA has cut across and drawn the fire of self-seeking subversive elements and rallied the constructive and patriotic forces in the defence of the nation.

Men who carry the spirit of Moral Re-Armament inspire that fighting faith which General Marshall, after his recent trip round the world, characterised as our greatest need.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION AND NATIONAL UNITY

A New Year message, 1940

FOR AMERICA this year is a year of destiny. We have the opportunity of giving the pattern for a new world.

Our task is to enlist everyone in America's war—the war for industrial co-operation and national unity.

Nothing less than this must be our aim. No human plan is adequate for so immense a task. The one essential is the enthronement of a new spirit that will make a new world possible.

In this decisive year we must forge an irresistible force that will change the course of history. Is that America's destiny? Will America be the builder of the foundations for a new world? We have energy, we have resources, we have men. Our one need is the rise of a new spirit—a spirit above party, class, race, point of view or personal advantage. With this new spirit we can build a pattern of industrial co-operation and national unity that will challenge the world and show a way out of confusion.

Men of vision must give a lead. The morally re-armed everywhere will give their support. In home and farm, business and workshop people are awakening to the simple standards of honesty, unselfishness and faith which made our country great. In Moral Re-Armament everyone has a part.

We face either the decline of nations *or* the rise of a new spirit. There is no other alternative. To this task of Moral Re-Armament we dedicate ourselves with all those who would build a new world—united, strong and free.

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

A broadcast from San Francisco,¹ 4 June, 1940

I AM DELIGHTED to be able to speak to the world-wide family of Moral Re-Armament and to thank you, wherever you are listening, for the good wishes and all the warmth of the greetings which have been coming in from all parts of the world.

We are gathered here from all sections of the United States in this most beautiful city of San Francisco. How I wish every one of you could share with me to the full in the beauty of this place and the happiness of this day.

Two years ago many of us were together in London when Moral Re-Armament was launched. What miracles God has wrought through that group gathered there. Twelve months ago we were in the nation's capital, in Washington. Then we spoke to each other in Washington and London, back and forth across the Atlantic. And now in San Francisco I am speaking to you from the heart of the American family of Moral Re-Armament.

In the light of world events all of us must re-orientate our thinking. It is imperative that we make certain now that the things we hold dear today will stand the test of tomorrow. Crisis draws us closer together. Every patriot wants to see his country strong and her defences adequate for national safety and security.

The nations need a new kind of defence. The call of the hour

¹ Short-wave broadcast to Asia, South Africa, South America and Europe from Stations KGEI, San Francisco, and WRUL, Boston, on the occasion of Dr Buchman's sixty-second birthday.

is a call to strength. Mr Edison, Secretary of the Navy, whose mother is speaking on this programme with me today, said recently :

There is one ingredient in national defence that transcends all others. It is born of the hearts of our people and it may be called National Character.

Without character and a deep-seated moral armament bred into the fibre of our citizens, no matter in what walk of life they may perform their civil tasks, there will be little worth defending.

The Navy is responsible for the training, welfare and discipline of its personnel. But these are few. A hundred and thirty-seven million others must know why their country lives and is worthy of living.

To build a citizenry whose roots are deep in the finer traditions of our land—to form a National Character that may some day lead the world back from chaos—to make our country impregnable both from within and without—is not the job of the Navy, it is yours.

Mr Edison further says, "Moral Re-Armament shares equally in importance with material re-armament in these critical days." He has voiced the real task that faces all of us. It is the conquest of materialism within our borders and within ourselves.

Men's minds are swinging away from the old, selfish, short-sighted materialism that is everywhere proving inadequate in time of stress. Moral Re-Armament is giving them the answers. With lightning speed within the past two years it has girdled the world and brought a new pattern and a new hope to a disillusioned age. Materialism is our great enemy. It is the chief "ism" we have to combat and conquer. It is the mother of all the "isms". There is the battleground. There the warfare must be waged so that we can firmly establish those homely truths

of honesty, unselfishness and obedience to God that are the hallmarks of personal and national sanity.

The great Catholic journal and organ of the Vatican, *Osservatore Romano*, after describing the response to Moral Re-Armament in many countries, calls the movement "a powerful help in the Pope's daily efforts to recall souls and the world to the virtues of the Gospels". Another Catholic journal *Italia*, in an article on Moral Re-Armament, states :

The problem is now to redirect the thinking of all people, to inspire them again with the conviction that God is a living and active force in the midst of us, to persuade them that machinery, technical knowledge, organisation, excellent in themselves, are incapable of solving our problems.

This is the battle of Moral Re-Armament. Without the conquest of materialism, our nations will decay from within while we prepare to defend ourselves against attack from without.

Materialism and atheism are breeding-grounds for corruption, anarchy and revolution. These have their allies in the selfishness that rules our homes, the bitterness that separates class from class, and the spirit of faction that divides a nation.

Here lies our instant danger. If we are fully to understand where our true security lies, we must look to our moral and spiritual defences. Then we must act, resolutely and intelligently to establish those defences.

America must be prepared. But America's security lies not only in planes and ships and tanks, but in men prepared morally and spiritually to make the nation strong. This is our first and foremost need.

A senior Army officer said recently on the radio :

In recent months I have observed the growth of a remarkable spirit on the West Coast. It is a spirit

which is uniting conflicting groups, which is giving to the ordinary individual American a new importance in the light of world affairs, a new sense of participation in his own nation's life. Moral Re-Armament, as it has been called, has spread from man to man, from family to family, and from community to community with such speed and with such effectiveness that it promises to play a major part in the national defence of this country.

True preparedness—the result of a nation morally re-armed—is the responsibility of every citizen. Everyone must take a part in the moral defence of the country. That is our privilege in America—every man bearing his part, every man an essential link in an impregnable line of defence, every home a fort, every worker employed in producing the moral armaments without which democracy must perish from within.

But we are in danger of defaulting on our American tradition. We are failing to bring to our nation today the reality of the importance of every citizen, a reality that gives power and the answer to frustration, personally, domestically, socially, nationally and supernationally. Because every citizen does not feel he has this answer, he delegates the responsibility to the few in the hope that they will have it. Because of our selfishness and our low level of living we delegate to others what should be our own responsibility, and hope that if we give them a large enough appropriation they will accomplish what is necessary for the nation.

It is not enough to understand our danger. It is not enough to say that we need a spiritual offensive against the forces of materialism. The average business man freely admits that what America needs today is a moral and spiritual awakening. But he quickly adds, "*That* is the business of our religious leaders." True, but it must *also* be the religion of our business leaders.

We have had gods in business, but they have sometimes been false gods. One of them has been materialism. An important business magazine points out that unless we listen to the Voice of God materialism will engulf us :

There is only one way out. The sound of a Voice coming from something not ourselves, in the existence of which we cannot disbelieve. Without it we are no more capable of saving the world than we were capable of creating it in the first place.

But who is to listen to this Voice and become the herald of a new world ? Why not the editor ? Why not the readers ?

Our leaders say that we need a moral and spiritual awakening. Yes, we agree. And we also need a moral and spiritual awakening in our leaders.

The eleventh hour has struck for America. America can no longer be lulled into a false sense of security by dreaming of the sweet by-and-by. We must face the nasty now-and-now. We must plan nationally for the moral and spiritual defence of the nation to create industrial co-operation and national unity.

The country that does not have national unity is licked from the start. We must set up a non-stop assembly line for creating national character. We must break the bottleneck of confusion and division and anticipate the strategy of subversive forces. With the same speed and efficiency that we plan for the production of aeroplanes, we must also plan for the production of men of character.

What if, in an age of force, Moral Re-Armament should be that super-force—the force of an all-powerful God working through men—that will order and rebuild the world ?

What would it mean for America to re-arm morally ? It would mean the uniting of our nation in every part of its life on a constructive plan. We need to find once again the power

of a united mind. We must leave our causes, many of them excellent causes, and find this common cause. We shall find the force that will forge amiable individualists into a united nation.

This will come as we set ourselves to eliminate conflict. Our present policy is, "Out with anyone with whom we don't agree." The MRA policy is, "All of us change and find a new level of working together." God must be the Arbiter in every conflict whether industrial, national or international. Suppose the foreign policy of nations were based on this thought, "Let him that is without blame amongst you cast the first stone."

Try honest apology and find honest peace, in your home, office, city, state and nation. Some of you will try it in your homes and like it so much that you will want to take it to your office. Others will try it out in your offices and find it works so well you will take it back to your homes.

This new spirit which has the answer to conflict in homes, industries and nations is the essential factor in building America's unity.

Our task is to set our own house in order. We waste energy and time trying to persuade the other person and the other nation to change first. We generate so much steam in the process that we become almost apoplectic in our righteous indignation. But events do not change, other nations do not change, because we do not change. So much of our steam never gets to traction.

The task is enormous. We need a super-force adequate to change men and nations. If we have learnt one thing from 1940 it is this, that if we do not listen to guidance, we must listen to guns. The tragic truth becomes more urgent than ever. We must bring the supernatural God to the man in the street. The man in the street must recapture and re-live the experience of a supernatural power.

What does it mean to listen to guidance? The prophets of old knew. They listened and they gave their rulers specific direction

in national and foreign affairs. They warned about treaties. They warned about invasions. They gave the rulers insight to anticipate disaster.

The fathers of our country knew what it meant to listen to guidance and to obey.

Said William Penn, "Men must be governed by God, or they will be ruled by tyrants."

Divine Providence was a reality in their daily lives. That early Cabinet made it the keystone of our Declaration of Independence when they wrote, "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour." They founded a nation. Today we need a re-birth of this spirit, if we in our time are to unite our nations.

Abraham Lincoln knew the secret of God-control. He wrote, "If it were not for my firm belief in an over-ruling Providence, it would be difficult for me in the midst of such complications of affairs to keep my reason in its seat. I have so many evidences of God's direction that I cannot doubt this power comes from above. I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not to do any particular thing, He finds a way of letting me know it."

The greatest men of our past knew that God-control was the only adequate programme for a nation. Their experience can be our experience. Definite direction, accurate information can still come from the Mind of God to the mind of man. It can come to our nation as men and women everywhere listen to God and obey, as they learn to plot their own course and their nation's course by the four compass points of MRA—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. But everyone must listen, every last man, in every last place, in every last situation. Not the religious leaders alone, but the business leaders, the cultural leaders, the national leaders.

A listening nation is a secure nation. The only true security is God's power working through the people who obey Him.

Any man can begin today to listen to God. Any man can begin today to bring a new spirit to his home, his city and his nation. The greatest revolution of all time whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the world is enlisting men today. The condition of the world makes it imperative that we enlist now, and to this task we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour.

A TRAINED FORCE

Philadelphia, 4 June, 1941

THE AIM OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT is a nation fortified against attack from within and without. It is a national necessity.

Moral Re-Armament is a message of the highest patriotism. It gives every American the chance to play his part.

Moral Re-Armament creates the qualities that make democracy function. It is simple, non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-political. It gives to every man the inner discipline he needs and the inner liberty he desires. It calls out and combines the moral and spiritual responsibility of individuals for their immediate sphere of action.

It builds for democracy an unshakeable framework of actively selfless and self-giving citizens, whose determination to bring unity cannot be altered by any beckoning of personal advantage and who know how to pass along to others their panic-proof experience of the guidance of God.

The work of Moral Re-Armament to heighten public morale and strengthen the community's moral fibre is carried forward by meetings, radio broadcasts, patriotic dramatisations, books and literature, and by Round Tables where, in an atmosphere of mutual trust, Labour and Management sit down together and find the solution to their problems.

Those working with Moral Re-Armament have volunteered for this far-reaching patriotic service. Some have been serving ever since the last war. They possess a special training which they are giving to our nation gladly, freely and not without sacrifice.

The morally re-armed have learned to live under a crisis-proof, fear-free discipline. They are a panic-proof, single-minded

and intelligent trained force at the disposal of all who put their country before selfish interest.

These men are true fighters—patriots who have been fighting daily over long periods to bring this needed boon to our nation at a time when hostility piles up between nation and nation, labour and capital, class and class. They are out to break the bottleneck of confusion and division and to anticipate the strategy of the subversive forces.

The crucial importance of morale has been forcibly brought home to us by the example of Europe, and has been increasingly emphasised in this country by all our national leaders. In showing the essential place of Moral Re-Armament as an effective morale-builder, the Hon. Harry S. Truman of Missouri, Chairman of the Senate Committee for the Investigation of the National Defence Programme, has pointed out :

I have felt a fresh certainty about the safety and security of America because of the evidence everywhere I go of the spread of Moral Re-Armament. This spirit of true patriotism is solving the internal discord that threatens our national life more seriously than any foreign power.

The Battle Line in American Industry

Senator Harry S. Truman made the following statement on the occasion of a special presentation of the Moral Re-Armament industrial drama, The Forgotten Factor,¹ in Philadelphia, 19 November, 1943 :

It has been the job of the Senate War Investigating Committee, of which I am Chairman, to look into the home front situation and make recommendations. We have listened to many hundreds of witnesses, taken five million words of testimony, obtained the considered view of responsible Americans ranging from the highest government and business officials to tank welders and airplane mechanics. I have personally travelled over 100,000 miles, visited hundreds of cities and war plants from Bangor to San Diego and from Seattle to Miami.

Seeing America from the inside in this way has given me both great pride and deep concern. Pride as an American at the magnitude of the effort put forth by both Management and Labour, and the flood of military and naval equipment for the mightiest armament the world has ever seen. Concern over the spirit of division which exists on the home front—class against class, farm against city, party against party, race against race. The forces of disunity in our national life appear to be stronger today than perhaps at any time in our history. And they are growing stronger.

Men in industry know of the battle for control which is going on in many of our major war plants. Most Management and Labour in the country want to co-operate to win the war and build a lasting peace. But there are extremists in both camps who don't make the job any too easy. They represent an alien philosophy of conflict and so play into the hands of foreign ideologies.

¹ This play, which President Truman called "the most important play produced by the war", develops Frank Buchman's philosophy in an industrial setting. For its Washington premiere, on 5 May, 1944, Senator Truman and Congressman James W. Wadsworth, a Democrat and a Republican, were joint chairmen of the Committee of Invitation. On this occasion the audience included 300 Members of Congress, 70 generals and admirals, and many leaders of labour and industry. This performance was followed by a coast to coast tour in America and Canada.

BATTLE LINE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

There are a few leaders of Management still left who, though war has forced them to bargain collectively, are inwardly convinced that Labour will eventually have to be taught its place by the Police or the Army. There are Labour leaders who, though paying lip service to co-operation with Management in the interests of the war effort, privately bend every effort to increase their power in preparation for a post-war take-over. Such industrial leadership would of course be disowned by all of you here tonight. But it nevertheless exists and constitutes a major problem with which we must reckon.

There is only one answer to this sort of thing. We must start now to draw the true battle line in American industry—between the responsible and constructive forces in both Management and Labour against the small but active minority who believe in a finish fight.

If we can succeed nationally in bringing mutual understanding and teamwork between the right-thinking leadership on both sides of the industrial picture, then we will not only increase production. We will save American industry for America and pave the way for the greatest era of peace and plenty we have ever known. If America can win the battle for industrial team-work, then we will be on the road towards winning the greater battle for national unity. And we can bring victory in this battle as our contribution to the peace table.

The time is ripe for an appeal not to self-interest, but to the hunger for great living that lies deep in every man. What Americans really want is not a promise of getting something for nothing, but a chance to give everything for something great. We want something we can fight for with equal intensity in war or peace—something not confined to combat areas or election campaigns. We want to feel that what we are doing for the war effort is at the same time laying sound foundations for the future. After our experience in the last war, we are wary of any programme for “making the world safe for democracy” which does not also involve making democracy safe for the world. We feel instinctively that a “new birth of freedom” in the home country is the best reward we can guarantee to those men of America who are fighting for freedom abroad.

I have known this group since 4 June, 1939, when I read a message from the President to the national meeting for Moral Re-Armament in Constitution Hall, Washington.¹ I was struck at that time by the

¹ See p. 216

clarity with which they saw the dangers threatening America, and the zeal and intelligence with which they set about rousing the country. You in Philadelphia are fortunate to have them for these coming days all to yourselves. I wish *The Forgotten Factor* and the war revue *You Can Defend America* could be seen by workers and executives alike in every war plant in the country. There is not a single industrial bottleneck I can think of which could not be broken in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead.¹

We need this spirit in industry. We need it in the nation. For if America doesn't catch this spirit, we will be lucky to win the war, and certain to lose the peace. With it there is no limit to what we can do for America, and America for the world.

¹ Dr John R. Steelman, United States Director of War Mobilisation and Reconversion, stated:

The greatest time-saver and money-saver that could come to America would be a spirit of united dedication to the job of making teamwork the normal practice of industry.

"That is where the Moral Re-Armament industrial drama, *The Forgotten Factor*, supplies the answer. It shows how the stubborn factor of human nature can be dealt with. The spirit it depicts and the men working in this spirit are truly the industrial pioneers of the future."

There have been over 300 performances of *The Forgotten Factor* in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Switzerland. Wherever it has gone the play has influenced industrial situations. The manager of a British coal mine said: "Our pit production has risen from 13,000 to 17,000 tons per week without extra manpower as a result of the new spirit of this play." In *The Spectator* for 6 June, 1947, Janus wrote in "A Spectator's Notebook":

"Tribute should be paid where tribute seems to be justly due. I heard this week of a striking impetus to coal production. The manager of one of our larger mines happened—I don't know how or when—to see a performance of the Moral Re-Armament movement's play *The Forgotten Factor*, at the Westminster Theatre. He was so deeply impressed that when he got back he called together a group of his sub-managers to consider the situation as he had come to see it. Interest in the affair percolated down, and some 300 men from the pit went up to see the play—at their own expense; the fare was over 30s.—returning late, just in time to go straight on the night shift. The result, I am assured, is that the pit regularly tops production for its region. Let me add that the story comes to me from no Moral Re-Armament quarter, but from someone who knows the pits and pitmen of that area particularly well."

REMAKERS OF THE WORLD

A Christmas message

MAY THE CHRIST CHILD bring us the birth of a new thinking at this Christmas time and usher in the new world that the statesman and every man want. We need a fourth-dimensional thinking—a gift from God—that will lighten our darkness and bring a speedy answer.

Wise men came from afar, guided by a Star, at that first Christmas. May each one of us, illumined from afar, bring a gift to all mankind that will be more acceptable than any earthly reward.

Trials and tribulations are the furnace which forges prophets. May we have the courage to accept the gift of this fourth-dimensional thinking for which God has prepared us with a common unity of mind to become the remakers of the world.

Ours is the eternal unity of being guided by a Star to give to every man and the statesman the gift of a new world.

O Holy Child of Bethlehem,
Descend to us we pray ;
Cast out our sin and enter in,
Be born in us today. . . .

We hear the Christmas angels
The great glad tidings tell ;
O come to us, abide with us,
Our Lord Emmanuel !

IV

DEMOCRACY'S INSPIRED IDEOLOGY

At this hour when humanity is given one last chance to unite and so answer the split atom, Moral Re-Armament is raising up a world force and a world philosophy adequate to reshape our times. I draw strength and hope from the evidence of a new spirit spreading in country after country. Moral Re-Armament is rendering a great service. It is the one hope of the world.

THE HON. NORMAN MAKIN

*First President of the UNC
Security Council, London, 1946*

Laboratory for a New World

As the war progressed, it became increasingly clear that the real struggle in the world was an ideological one, between materialist, totalitarian ideologies and the Christian ideology of democracy. Frank Buchman, foreseeing that victory in the war would not end this conflict, set out to train the inspired leadership democracy needed. Moral Re-Armament training centres, from 1940 onwards, drew together thousands from all sides of American life and representatives from many countries.

The training centre held each year since 1942 at Mackinac Island, Michigan,¹ in the Great Lakes, was described in the Grand Rapids Herald (10 September, 1944) under the heading 'A Laboratory for a New World':

Out of the national response to *You Can Defend America* came the need for a training centre, where true patriots could be trained to Change—Unite—Fight.

They came to Mackinac. There, they set up an experimental laboratory and invited others to come help build the new world.

The response was immediate.

By bus, train, plane and boat came heads of Labour and industry. War plants in Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and elsewhere sent representatives. A.F. of L. and C.I.O.,² housewife and society leader, merchant and farmer—ordinary men and women from every walk of life came to the world-problem clinic.

They called it the Moral Re-Armament Training Centre and it wasn't long before their vision became startlingly real—real enough to make the sceptical visitor sit up with a jolt.

For one thing, the pioneers had little money—but then, they

¹ See also p. 234

² American Federation of Labour, and Congress of Industrial Organisations.

reasoned, neither had their pioneering ancestors who cleared the great West. They had only faith in the world they wanted to see, trust in each other to share fully, and a reliance on Divine Providence.

Scarcely had the advance "scouts" arrived on Mackinac when a hotel, which had stood empty for some years, was put at their disposal. Home-owners stripped their closets and beds of blankets, pillows and towels, while workers from all over the country dug deep into the family savings account. Housewives went to work with mop and duster, while the men donned jeans and painted, sawed and scrubbed.

The experiment proved so successful that this year it has attracted the attention of the world.

Two thousand representatives from 38 states and 15 nations have crowded into historic old Island House for the third consecutive summer. They came, too, from all parts of Canada, with individual delegations from such plants as Lockheed, Boeings, North American Aircraft, Todd Shipyards, Ford, Briggs, Cramp and General Electric. . . .

All came with but one thought in mind : an eager desire to help build a new world.

THE WAR OF IDEAS

An informal address at the opening of the Moral Re-Armament Training Centre, Mackinac Island, July, 1943

TODAY I want to talk about great forces at work in the world. Sixty and more years ago you didn't hear much about the Communist Party. To begin with there was one man—Karl Marx. Then for a long time only a small group. Eventually world conditions made it possible for Karl Marx to do his work—and Communism is the result.

Think what Russia means in the world today. How large is it? One-sixth of the earth. I remember a time when the Czar couldn't ride unless he had every six feet a man watching him. Even if it was a railway journey of a thousand miles, he always had men posted along the way. It was all part of what helped produce the thing called Communism.

A little while ago the world didn't think much about it. It didn't affect us. We had not come into contact with it. Occasionally there would be a flare-up. Then during the last war there was more and more discontent. There was revolution. And the Communist Party came to power.

Today the Russians are doing pretty well. America is doing a lot for them because just now they seem to be a decisive factor in dealing with Germany, and because they may have a controlling interest in the future.

Now that is one picture. Give it a nice gold frame. Put in as much red as you want. But when you have done that, you haven't done with Communism because it is a tremendous force. Think of the number of people in this country who have been swung by it, who have gone part way and are "leftist" in their thinking. We are going to meet it all the time.

DEMOCRACY'S INSPIRED IDEOLOGY

Now take another force. When did we begin to hear about Fascism? 1921-1922. Again there was a man—Mussolini. I remember when I was in Italy, at Milan. "Viva i Comunisti" was written all over the walls. Soon you saw, "Viva il Duce", also on the walls—and Mussolini arose as an opposing force to Communism. He marched on Rome. He put himself in power and a Fascist force came into being. For a while there was a growing sense of stability and prosperity. People said, "Good! Mussolini has come. Fascism has come. The trains are on time. There are no beggars in the streets. We have 'good order'." But today where is Mussolini? Where is Italy? And where is the "order"?

In those days, back in the twenties, Germany was at its lowest ebb. Many had no food—nothing. I remember men of large means taking a hard-boiled egg in their pocket and bringing it out for lunch. For years there was danger of collapse and incipient revolution. The youth were completely out of hand, delinquent, roving the country, with crimes of violence and theft everywhere.

Then along came a man called Hitler who had very definite ideas. He wrote them in a book when he was in prison. When he came out there were mobs, disorders and massacres. The Austrian became a citizen of the German Reich. There was no order in Germany. But this juggernaut comes along and gives seeming order. More and more he took a place in the world. So the German people said, "Hallelujah!" and "Heil Hitler!" You know the rest of the story.

So we have Communism and Fascism, two world forces. And where do they come from? From Materialism which is the mother of all the "isms". It is the spirit of anti-Christ which breeds corruption, anarchy and revolution. It undermines our homes, it sets class against class, it divides the nation. Materialism is Democracy's greatest enemy.

These then were the forces which threatened to dominate the world.

In 1938 the guidance came to me—"Moral Re-Armament", a movement where the moral and spiritual would have the emphasis. The need of the age is the moral and the spiritual. Our task was to bring back these realities to nations that needed them. We initiated this thinking in London's East Ham Town Hall. We took it to the nations. Moral Re-Armament was born that year.

Communism and Fascism are built on a *negative* something—on divisive materialism and confusion. Wherever Moral Re-Armament goes, there springs up a *positive* message. Its aim is to restore God to leadership as the directing force in the life of the nation.

Let me recall what I said in Philadelphia on my birthday :

Moral Re-Armament creates the qualities that make democracy function. It is simple, non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-political. It gives to every man the inner discipline he needs and the inner liberty he desires. It calls out and combines the moral and spiritual responsibility of individuals for their immediate sphere of action.

It builds for democracy an unshakable framework of actively selfless and self-giving citizens, whose determination to bring unity cannot be altered by any beckoning of personal advantage and who know how to pass along to others their panic-proof experience of the guidance of God.

America must discover her rightful ideology. It springs from her Christian heritage and is her only adequate answer in the battle against materialism and all the other "isms". But America does not hate materialism. Think of America destroying herself with the very force that she condemns in others. The battle of the ideologies was the granite of the Old and New Testaments.

So many people today instead of giving the granite, give the sugar—and so we never cure materialism.

MRA first of all goes straight to the fundamental problem—it recognises sin. Sin is the disease. Jesus Christ is the cure. The result is a miracle. You come to a training centre like this. You may say, "Oh, I don't like to hear sin mentioned." Well, that's too bad. It ought to be mentioned, but it ought to be enough just to give a quick picture of it and then move on. And you ought to be so sensitive that you respond immediately and change—and that's one more miracle. That ought to happen today, just as in the old days your grandparents used to go to church on Wednesday night, because they liked a good rugged sermon on sin. That's fine if you have time enough for it—and possibly you need to take time. Make sure there is no minimum emphasis on sin. Make it maximum. But then quickly make the adjustment. Change, unite, fight. That is the natural sequence.

You will find here the old fundamental truths—but you get them with a mighty, moving crescendo. MRA restores absolute standards in a day when selfishness and expediency are the common practice of men and nations. Take the four absolutes—honesty, purity, unselfishness, love. Perhaps some of you do not put much stock in them any more. But to arm a people you must give them these simple, basic standards.

Take honesty for a start. What do you find in the nation? What about men who have been dishonest, say in war contracts? Graft and the Black Market keep a lot of people busy all the time and cost millions of dollars. In the old days nobody said a good word for dishonesty. Now the successful chiseller seems almost at a premium.

Take purity. You may say that it is just a personal matter. But what is happening to the nation? They tell you that in some war plants impurity is so common that it is even organised among the workers, and especially among the subversive groups

who use it as a weapon. They know that when people's morals are confused their thinking becomes confused. People say, "That's too bad", and keep on going to church on Sunday, but nothing happens. Too few try to bring a great, cleansing force to the nation. What is going to happen to a nation when nobody brings a cure any more? Broken homes, unstable children, the decay of culture, the seeding plot of revolution.

As far as unselfishness and love go, people don't pretend to be unselfish, and they don't expect to be loving.

People have written off the four standards as part of the horse-and-buggy days. So, naturally, they are the last thing they have in mind for nations. That is why you have the condition there is in the world today. Now if you can get people who will live up to these absolutes and stand for them, then you have a force, a creative something in the community with a strength that nothing will gainsay.

You must have that emphasis on morals plus the saving power of Jesus Christ. Then you experience the dynamic which is almost forgotten—the Holy Spirit, that gives the guided answer and tells you exactly what to do as a clear direct call from God.

That's the programme for the Church today. I believe with all my heart in the Church, the Church aflame, on fire with revolution. We haven't begun to experience the spiritual revolution we need. You need revolution, and then when you come into the clear light of God's Presence, you will experience a glorious renaissance. You will come to see what Christ means this old world to be.

It's one thing to know these realities. But there's a further thing, and that is to make them national.

The trouble with some of you is that you are so idealistic that your hopes never come to pass, even in your own families. That was the trouble with the League of Nations. People were so "League-minded" they failed to do the thing the League

most needed—the spadework with individuals that brings change. There was something left out of the League and that was—God. The League was never God-arched.

Everybody's job is to find the God-arched master-plan. Then we would have a master-plan not only for us, but for post-war Europe. The trouble is, we let the statesmen do all our thinking for us—and then we call it democracy !

Take the great modern cities you come from. You complain of this subversive leader and that one. Yet it is the selfishness of everyone that makes possible the subversive leader. The whole problem is that you endure a thing rather than cure it. You would rather pay than pray. You would rather go on with your confusion, your grumbling, your complaints, than change and have an answer.

The battle for America is the battle for the mind of America. A nation's thinking is in ruins before a nation is in ruins. And America's thinking is in ruins.

People get confused as to whether it is a question of being Rightist or Leftist. But the one thing we really need is to be guided by God's Holy Spirit. That is the Force we ought to study. Then we will have a clear light that ends confusion. The Holy Spirit will teach us how to think and live, and provide a working basis for our national service.

America doesn't have much of her great moral heritage left. Just think, if we fail to give emphasis to a moral climate, where will our democracy go ? Some of us have been so busy looking after our own affairs that we have forgotten to look after the nation. Unless America recovers her rightful ideology nothing but chaos awaits us. Our destiny is to obey the guidance of God.

The true battle line in the world today is not between class and class, not between race and race. The battle is between Christ and anti-Christ. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.

THE WORLD FOR WHICH WE FIGHT

The World for which We Fight

On 4 June, 1945, in San Francisco, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Cochrane, K.B.E., presented Frank Buchman with a book from Service men of the Allied nations. The inscription reads :

To

DR FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN

on his birthday

4 June 1945

A THOUSAND SERVICE
MEN AND WOMEN SEND
THIS MESSAGE FROM THE
WAR FRONTS OF THE WORLD

GREETINGS, LOVE AND GRATITUDE ON YOUR BIRTHDAY, FROM THE WORLD'S BATTLEFRONTS—FROM BRITAIN AND THE ATLANTIC, FROM WESTERN EUROPE, ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, FROM AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, FROM INDIA, SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

THROUGH THESE YEARS OF ENDURANCE YOUR INSPIRATION HAS ARMED US TO FIGHT ON. AS WE MARCH INTO THE YEARS OF VICTORY, YOUR CONQUERING PHILOSOPHY IS OUR HOPE—THE FIGHTING FAITH THAT WILL BRING RESURRECTION TO NATIONS AND TEAM-WORK TO A DIVIDED WORLD.

IN OUR GREAT DEMOCRACIES, YOU HAVE TAUGHT US HOW TO TRIUMPH OVER THE TYRANNY OF ALIEN CREEDS AND THE FALSE IDEOLOGIES OF MATERIALISM. WE STAND WITH YOU ON THAT WORLD

DEMOCRACY'S INSPIRED IDEOLOGY

BATTLE LINE IN THE WAR OF IDEAS. WHEN VICTORY IN ARMS IS FINALLY OURS WE, WITH YOU, WILL BATTLE ON TO BUILD A SOUND WORLD, MORALLY RE-ARMED AND GOD-CONTROLLED—THE WORLD FOR WHICH WE FIGHT.

This book from the Services concludes with an extract from a letter written by an Officer on the H.Q. Staff of one of the spearhead divisions of the British Liberation Army in North-West Europe :

With military victory our job has just begun : victory in the field can only be made decisive through victory in men's hearts over selfishness and moral wrong. I've thought of Frank Buchman and the spiritual invasion forces he has commanded. He knows what fighting costs. That is why his philosophy is relevant now as we move to the attack. All fighting is costly and it is to be selfless fighters that Frank has trained us. We all fight on a beach head—the beach head of a new world.

THE WORLD PHILOSOPHY

A birthday message, San Francisco, 4 June, 1945

MY BIRTHDAY WISH is that Moral Re-Armament become the world philosophy.

Today we see three ideologies battling for control. There is Fascism, and Communism, and then there is that great other ideology which is the centre of Christian democracy—Moral Re-Armament.

We need to find an ideology that is big enough and complete enough to outmarch any of the other great ideologies. Until that time comes, men will flounder. They will not find their way.

But when the Holy Spirit of God rules the hearts and lives of men, then we will begin to build the new world of tomorrow that all of us long to see.

A REVOLUTION UNDER THE CROSS

On the eve of sailing for Europe; New York, 23 April,^c 1946

WE ARE AT THE END of seven years—seven wonderful years. We have learned much. We want to be careful that every single person in this room knows the full truth in Christ Jesus that has been revealed to us.

When I left England a great statesman said, "I don't want you to leave my country. I want you to stay." I said, "My duty is to America." I came for seven years. Great truths have been revealed to us. I think of those wonderful days in California, in San Francisco, when we spoke to the world and we gave a message that is the answer. It is a great ideology. It is the full message of Jesus Christ. It is putting the message in a way that the world will understand. People didn't fully understand, but the crisis was not as imminent as it is today. Now people everywhere say this is the answer.

These are the two alternatives : Communism and Marxism—and that great inspired ideology that has meant so much for liberty and freedom in the days that are gone.

We are in a global work. Take Australia. A leader of the UNO Conference¹ in London, said, "MRA is the one hope of the world." The one hope of the world. Take Rear-Admiral Byrd. In the most momentous meeting that I ever expect to live through in Washington, he sat next to me. He saw that remarkable play.² He said, "I must speak." Then two other men

¹ The Hon. Norman Makin, Australian Minister for the Navy, and first President of the Security Council of UNO.

² *The Forgotten Factor.*

A REVOLUTION UNDER THE CROSS

spoke and he said, "I must speak again." And he said, "This is America's answer." This is America's answer.

If this is America's answer, then we are in a global effort to win the world to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Then the great truths of the Gospel will once more become great and Jesus Christ will be King. There is your ideology. It is the whole message of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The message in its entirety is the only last hope that will save the world. God's chance is a revolution under the Cross of Christ that can transform the world. The only hope. Our only answer. Go forth with that message united and you will save the world.

And now shall we have a few moments of quiet.

Oh, Thou best Gift of Heaven,
Thou Who Thyself hast given,
For Thou hast died :
This hast Thou done for me—
What have I done for Thee,
Thou crucified ?

I long to serve Thee more ;
Reveal an open door
Saviour to me.
Then, counting all but loss,
I'll glory in the Cross,
And follow Thee.

The Cross of Christ adequate for a revolution that will bring a renaissance, that will change the world. We pray in Christ's name. Amen.

The Good Road

The Swiss Broadcasting Corporation requested Dr Frank Buchman to make a world broadcast from Switzerland on his 69th birthday, 4 June, 1947. This broadcast, The Good Road, was sent out from Switzerland in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese to Europe, North and South America, Africa and the Far East. It was broadcast by Radio Rome, by Radio Luxemburg, by Swiss and Italian national stations, by the Dutch national stations at Hilversum, by Eindhoven to the East and West Indies, and by the Greek National Radio from Athens. Rome Radio also sent it out by short-wave in five languages. It was broadcast by the Burma National Radio at Rangoon, and from stations in China and Malaya. The Australian Broadcasting Commission sent it out over the national network, and it was re-broadcast by national stations in New Zealand. Broadcasts in the United States included short-wave station WRUL, Boston, serving all parts of the world, the forty stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System's Pacific Coast network, and local stations in American and Canadian cities from coast to coast.

Dr Buchman's broadcast was read into the Congressional Record by the Hon. James W. Wadsworth, of New York, the co-author of the National Selective Service Act, on 10 June, 1947.

The following statement by Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd, Commander of the United States Antarctic Task Force, introduced the broadcast for listeners in the United States :

Please convey to Dr Buchman my heartiest greetings on his birthday. As I see it, Frank Buchman and his many associates are inspired. If you could know exactly what this group is doing you would see their lives are completely dedicated to the greatest of all causes, the achievement of peace, harmony and goodwill in the world. These men and women and their whole families give themselves unselfishly. They

THE GOOD ROAD

have gone out into the world and have given up their homes and security. They work without pay. Their attitude is akin to that of the disciples of old.

We know many minorities have organised themselves into strong units for purely selfish purposes, but this group is consecrated to the cause of good. They are implementing in a practical way what Christ taught 2,000 years ago. And make no mistake about it many nations in the world are beginning to feel its influence. We know there is evil in the universe and due to that evil there is much bad will in the world, but it is my conviction that there is far more goodwill than there is bad will, but the world has suffered immeasurably and is still suffering from selfishness, and that is because selfish groups have developed a genius for organising and mobilising, whereas those of goodwill have seldom demonstrated a talent for organising. Consequently only too often bad will dominates the affairs of man with devastating results, in the form of cruelty, suffering, despair, starvation, chaos and war, which lend more strength and power to the forces of evil.

On the other hand MRA is not only mobilising goodwill the world over, but it is changing men of bad will to the end that goodwill may eventually predominate, so that the human race will no longer resort to war, but will choose rather to settle questions across the Godly table of arbitration.

We know this is a materialistic age where man's genius has been largely expended in development of material science to the neglect of the human spirit and the science of human relationships. MRA has the answer. How else can man fit himself into this atomic age than by the creation of universal goodwill that will dominate the world : that it will dissolve man's dangerously selfish desires, ambitions and greed ?

People the world over are bewildered and confused. They don't know just what to do about it. Frank Buchman points to the answer. His groups are fighting throughout the world to accomplish what you people of goodwill who are listening to me to-day are hoping can somehow be accomplished. I want to say with all the emphasis at my command, that this movement gives you the chance you have been looking for to go into action to save civilisation from incalculable calamity.

THE GOOD ROAD

A world broadcast from Caux,¹ Switzerland, 4 June, 1947

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE are trying to find the good road that will lead them to security. Awesome fear surrounds everyone. It stalks the world. Conference follows conference but peace comes no nearer. Menacing economic problems face both the Old World and the New. The young United Nations sags under the weight of its problems and the lack of the right spirit in which to meet them. People lose faith in their leaders, and statesmen—earnest, able men—toil but see no harvest.

Some people are thinking in terms of another war. I don't believe they are sane if they are thinking of such an answer. But there are men who are willing to submit to all its horrors if that were a way out.

Meanwhile the forces of subversion prey like vultures over man's disillusionment. Even the elements seem to be working with them, giving a red answer to the balance sheet.

On every hand we see disunity. Divisions are the mark of our time. Men oppose other men because they are of another nation, another race, another class, another party, or simply because they hold another point of view.

Everyone longs for peace and order, yet battling for divisive points of view only increases the chaos. What is our greatest need?

Someone in Europe said recently, "We are hungry, hungry not only for food but for ideas—ideas on which to re-shape our individual and national life."

¹For an account of the 1947 World Assembly for Moral Re-armament, held at Caux-sur-Montreux, see page 236.

THE GOOD ROAD

The truth is that our problem goes deeper than economics or politics. It is ideological. Divisive ideologies strive for the mastery of men's minds. Thousands follow their banners only because they see no convincing alternative. Not all governments have grasped the paramount importance of ideological preparedness. A nation which is materially strong may be ideologically divided against itself, and therefore in danger. Leaders who ignore this fact will sell us short.

There is a road, a good road among many false ways, a good road mankind must find and follow. It is a God-constructed road. It is the great high road of democracy's inspired ideology. It is valid for every nation. It is essential for world peace.

Men today are being stretched consciously or unconsciously into new moulds of thinking. People everywhere ask, "Have you the answer to Communism?"

It is interesting how fanciful and heroic or even pathetic some people are in trying to find the answer. Others begin to see vaguely that there must be a note of change. Everybody knows somebody, some nation which ought to be different. But most people have not come to the point where they see that they themselves need a radical change. Yet these are days of radical action. And human nature can be changed.

"I thought", said a military man recently after meeting a moral Re-Armament, "I thought that I was Major Brown. I found that I was Mr Anyman facing Major Change!"

He had found the good road, the road of a change of heart. As we travel this road miracles happen and renaissance and true security will follow in their train.

A steel worker came to our training centre here at Caux. He had been a Communist for twenty-eight years. He had trained his daughter until she became even more radical than he. Yet that daughter was changed and persuaded her father to come to

Caux. Before he left us he read a poem that he had written. These are his words :

I contemplate, and bow in awe
Before God's master Plan ;
I watch the miracle superb—
The change in selfish man.

The snows on Dents-du-Midi
Are but the robes of grace ;
God has a plan, for every man,
And each one has a place.

This steel worker now writes, "I was a new creature in Christ and the experience at Caux sealed for ever my allegiance to the Highest. This is the first time in years that I have written anything of a spiritual nature, for, for the last twenty-eight years my pen and any talents I possessed were given to proclaiming and proclaiming very forcibly my belief in the materialism of the Marxist theory."

People summon new hope whenever you give the voice of faith as a sure and certain answer for even the darkest days. I thank God for the mounting evidence—sometimes in the headlines, more often behind the headlines—that this is true.

I hold in my hand today a report by the noted Associated Press columnist DeWitt Mackenzie, which he calls "one of the most remarkable" in his experience. He tells of the striking new plans which one of China's foremost soldier-statesmen has been developing for his nation. Concerned over the tragic divisions of his country, General Ho, China's wartime Chief of Staff who now represents his country on the United Nations Military Staff Committee, went to a Moral Re-Armament conference in America.

This is the new truth he saw there. He says, "During the past twenty years of my fight against materialism in China, the

method I used was force against force, and organisation against organisation. I have now come to the very firm conclusion that I must fight an idea with an idea."

General Ho now puts first the moral rehabilitation of China. He believes that along with economic reform must come the moral force that will give new standards to the country. In short, says the General, there is no use trying to reform the Communists by naked force alone. It would be best to solve the Communist problem by moral force. He stresses the importance of raising the moral standards of Chinese society as a whole, including both the Communists and the Kuomintang.

To this end he has submitted to his government detailed plans for sending at once selected groups of his countrymen to Switzerland and America for training in Moral Re-Armament. He specifies that these men must be unselfish by nature, and able-bodied, that they must be men of faith and that they must return to give at least one year's service to the development of this ideology in their country. He concludes with these memorable words. "To put the world in order, we must first put the nation in order ; to put the nation in order, we must put the family in order ; to put the family in order, we must cultivate our personal life ; and to cultivate our personal life, we must first set our hearts right."

Here surely is statesmanlike planning, a new approach to the problems of fratricidal strife which menace so many nations today.

At Caux, in the heart of troubled Europe, and at Mackinac Island in America, there are centres for ideological training to which the ordinary man and the statesmen are coming in growing numbers, and they are finding there new hope and the way out of confusion. One of the statesmen from the Paris Peace Conference last summer said, "At Caux I found the answer to Paris."

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India, a centre of considerable confusion today, sent a distinguished delegation of leaders. One was the Director of Agriculture for the United Provinces. He said, "Two main ideologies are likely to capture the imagination of the people in India. One is the ideology of Karl Marx. The other is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament." Indian newspapers got the point. They said it in headlines—"Caux, the answer to Communism."

Coal is one of the chief problems of the economic world. Every major coal field in Britain was represented at Caux. In the most critical year for the British mines these leaders went back to settle disputes and raise production. There was more coal because there was a new spirit. These miners have not only increased production, they have happy homes.

A British Member of Parliament said, "A fresh wind of liberty and goodwill blows from Caux over the ruined nations." Today he is heading a committee of Parliamentarians who are inviting government leaders from other countries to join them here to plan the moral and spiritual rebirth of nations which will make peace secure. Labour leads in many lands. Labour led by God can unite the world.

Army leaders, too, see a new role for themselves and their forces—to give quickly to their nations the added strength of an inspired ideology.

And thank God there is now at work a world force of people, ideologically equipped, who know how a new moral climate can be produced because of what has happened in their own lives. Workers and soldiers, housewives and statesmen, farmers and industrialists, young and old, they have no new paper plans to offer, but they have experience which cannot be denied. They know that a change of heart is possible. They know that definite, decisive guidance from God is available, today as always.

Two weeks ago I was present in Rome at the ceremonies

which proclaimed as Saint a statesman of his day, Nikolaus von der Flüe, who lived in Switzerland in the fifteenth century. Nikolaus had this gift of divine direction. As he exercised it, he became the saviour of his country. He was a farmer who tilled his land well, a soldier, a magistrate. At fifty, oppressed by the problems of a warring world, he gave up much to follow radically the guidance of God. Soon his inspired good sense, knowledge of men and singleness of heart commanded the respect of his contemporaries, not only in Switzerland but in all Europe. He became the most sought-after arbiter in affairs of state. When the bitter quarrels of the Cantons brought his country to the verge of civil war it was his God-given answer which set Switzerland on the good road that gave her unity. It is most timely that this statesman of five hundred years ago, who listened for God's word and fearlessly passed it on to his generation, should today receive this supreme recognition. Truly he is a saint for our times, a model for the United Nations.

A diplomat led by God—a nation united. Is that the answer?

An Arab Foreign Minister said, "The world is at the cross-roads. One road leads to revolution and chaos. The other to reaction and despair. Moral Re-Armament is the third way—the way of an inspired democracy that will unite the world."

Democracy's inspired ideology is a life to be lived, a road to be followed. A whole new order of statesmanship is required. Cabinet Ministers to rule well must change people. Ordinarily Cabinets do not have that art.

As men change, nations find a new level of living that makes problems melt.

As men listen to God and obey His orders, nations find a pattern that makes plain God's Will for government.

Here is the good road. Anyone can travel it. Everyone must travel it—ordinary men and the statesman alike.

As we step out upon it, God becomes real. Fear vanishes and

life opens out. There is no need for detours : the good road lies straight ahead.

When ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left, thine ears shall hear a word behind thee saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Nations shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God. And great shall be the peace of thy children.

THE ANSWER TO CRISIS

*Opening address at the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly,¹
Caux, Switzerland, 15 July, 1947*

ALL the world wants an answer. We have reached the moment when, unless we find an answer and bring it quickly to the world, not just one nation, but all nations will be overwhelmed.

For too long we have breathed the atmosphere of problems. We move from conference to conference and give up hope of a fundamental solution. We are cynical of success. We have become the slaves of our defeats, personally and nationally.

Nations desire the fruits of an answer without having an answer. We want production. We want peace. We want prosperity. We want a world organisation. We want a united Europe. We want a new national life. But we do not go to the root of the matter.

You cannot continue to cry "Crisis" without providing an adequate answer. The habit of crisis breeds the habit of apathy. We must lift people to a new level out of the fogs of fear and the bogs of bitterness where today humanity founders.

Nations fail because they try desperately to combat moral apathy with economic plans. Economic breakdown walks as a black threat through the heart of every statesman and citizen. Yet the material crisis may obscure the materialism and moral breakdown that underlie it, so they do not know how to cure it.

Until we deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a national scale, nations must still follow their historic road to violence and destruction.

The problem is not just an iron curtain which separates nation from nation, but steely selfishness which separates man from man.

¹This address was read into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Elbert D. Thomas, of Utah, on 26 July, 1947.

and all men from the government of God. And when men listen to God and obey, the steel and iron melt away.

A generation ago a group of men gripped by a materialist ideology decided to capture the world with it. They gave their lives to that task. For twenty-five years they have worked—every hour, sleeping and waking, ceaselessly, skilfully, ruthlessly on a world front.

Suddenly the statesmen of the democratic nations have woken up. They rub their eyes as they see what is happening. The world force of materialism has penetrated every nation. It has infiltrated their schools, their industries. It has invaded their offices and government departments. It has influenced their families, their colleagues, and even themselves.

At last they realise the imminence of crisis. They perceive the colossal progress of organised materialism in its march towards world chaos and control. Why, they ask, are we in this situation? How did it come about?

The reason is simple. While many slept, and others busied themselves with their own affairs, the materialists have been working out their revolution with a philosophy, a passion and a plan.

What is the answer? A generation ago the force of Moral Re-Armament began fighting too. On a world front it has been answering plan with plan, idea with idea, a militant godless materialism with a militant inspired ideology for democracy.

The idea caught hold. It remade men. It impacted nation after nation. Now it girdles the globe.

Today at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux we see this force in action with the answer, available for service. At a time when statesmen realise the lateness of the hour, it freely offers the fruit of twenty-five years of toil. A force in the war of ideas, with the training and experience which, under God, can equip the statesmen and the ordinary man with an ideology adequate to remake the nations—now.

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A new message goes out from Caux to a stricken world. At Caux the answer has been found. It has been given legs and it is on the march. Here at Caux we are reaching the end of the age of crisis and pioneering the era of cure.

Take the great world problem today—the production of coal. Test this answer. Britain must produce more coal, or, as Cabinet Ministers say, the midnight hour will strike for her. This week the Coal Board announces the output of coal nationally is considerably short of the target set by the Government. But where miners have been trained at Caux, in coalfields where the Moral Re-Armament drama *The Forgotten Factor* has been shown, there is a different picture. In one mine the six-day target was reached in four and a half days. In another the target was passed so often the miners have asked for the target to be raised. In one area absenteeism dropped in twelve months from 20 per cent. to 3 per cent.

Paper plans will never raise production. Only new men working together in a new spirit with the fire of an ideology will raise production, build teamwork that springs from happy homes, and set the nations on the path to recovery.

Test this answer again. A great Indian labour leader was with me at Caux last week-end. He told me two problems dogged India—racial bitterness and class bitterness. He saw no solution. After one day he told me he had seen the answer. He came again. He says: "Moral Re-Armament is the answer because moral apathy is the problem. I have seen here the way of life without tragedy. As I make this way my own my life can be effective and I can make others effective. This is our chance. One of us can make many. Thousands can make millions. The world can be saved from tragedy."

His words are the key to statesmanship that can save the world. He shows us where to begin, because Moral Re-Armament is for everyone everywhere. Human nature can be changed. That is the

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basic answer. National economies can be changed. That is the fruit of the answer. World history can be changed. That is the destiny of our age.

Let us be honest and face the facts. A new conference is no answer to a false philosophy. A new theory is no answer to a militant ideology. Plans fail for lack of inspired people to work them. Yet we multiply plans. Caux produces the inspired people who will make plans work.

A statesman came to Caux. He is President of the Board of Trade of his nation. For years his life had been governed by a hatred of the British so powerful that he had sworn never to speak the English language publicly again.

He was involved in incidents which brought his country to a crisis that, in his own words, "could very easily have led to civil war." He spoke in English as he told us: "I have experienced myself that a hatred which at times used to flash to white heat can be removed in an instant through willingness, although I did not know God or believe in Him, to learn His miracle-working power." He learned the secret that an honest apology leads to honest peace. Civil war was averted. Change in this statesman and the guidance of God turned him from a divisive element in his nation to a pioneer of teamwork and taught him to live effectively for other races as well as for his own.

A change of heart. Inspired statesmanship. The answer to hate and division. Is that the answer we are all seeking?

Moral Re-Armament offers the world and the statesmen of the world a force, trained and on the march, that has the answer to individual and national selfishness. It is the chance for everyone everywhere to step today into the fresh dimension of a new age. It is not a theory but a way of life, tested and tried in every circumstance. It is a force that has the power to save and recreate a society on the brink of collapse.

On his return from the Antarctic, Admiral Byrd summed up

his own conviction about Moral Re-Armament : "I want to say with all the emphasis at my command that it gives you the chance you have been looking for to go into action to save civilisation."

Men born again are bringing renaissance to nations. Industry with this force of Moral Re-Armament at its heart will produce enough for the needs of all. Homes with this force in everyday life will secure the next generation from chaos. Armies with this force will give new standards of moral training to their nations. Cabinets and diplomats with this force will be totally effective for they will have the power to turn their enemies into friends. Europe will arise, the world will arise from the sleep and defeat of apathy and disillusion. This is the only possible hope for world reconstruction.

"Men must be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants," said that great American, William Penn.

It is the new day, and a new way.

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I

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF
DR BUCHMAN

I

EARLY DAYS

From Life Changers by Harold Begbie, published in 1923

Quietly and unobtrusively, an interesting work has been going on for the last four or five years among the undergraduates of many Universities, not only here in England but all over the world. This work, by its own development, has attracted the attention of the religious authorities of many countries, and largely originated from the activity of a single person.

Some years ago I made the acquaintance of this man. . . . We became friends ; we corresponded with each other ; at intervals we met and discussed the progress of his work. Then, in the summer of the year 1922, I accepted an invitation to meet a number of University men from both sides of the Atlantic who were to gather in a house party. . . .

The character of these men, some of them so brilliant in scholarship, others so splendid in athletics, and all of them, without one exception, so modest and so disturbingly honest, was responsible for my re-awakened interest. They were men of the first class, men whom one may fairly call not only the fine flower of our English-speaking civilisation, but representatives of the best hope we possess of weathering the storms of materialism which so palpably threaten to overwhelm the ship which carries the spiritual fortunes of humanity. It was impossible in their company to doubt any longer that the man who had changed their lives, and had made them also changers of other men's lives, was a person of very considerable importance. One regarded him with a new interest, a fresh reverence. . . .

SUPPLEMENT

In this work he is engaged at the present moment, and he believes that a new knowledge of religion is spreading among men who may exercise a strong influence on English-speaking civilisation during the next fifty years.

2

HOW THE OXFORD GROUP BEGAN

*From For Sinners Only by A. J. Russell
published in 1932*¹

The story of how Frank's own life was changed, as told by Harold Begbie in "Life Changers", is an absorbing and inspiring narrative. Frank is a character who grows on you—in a book, in life. After the first chapter you want to meet him. When you meet him you may have reason to wish you hadn't. But if you remove the reason you will find Frank still there and that you have obtained release from spiritual defeat. . . .

Begbie, at Frank's request, masked the name of his hero under the initials "F.B." . . .

"His carriage and his gestures", said Begbie, "are distinguished by an invariable alertness. He never droops, he never slouches. You find him in the small hours of the morning with the same quickness of eye and the same athletic erectness of body which seem to bring a breeze into a breakfast-room. Few men so quiet and restrained exhale a spirit of such contagious well-being.

"A crisp accent marks his speech, and is richly noticeable only when he makes use of colloquialisms. The voice is low but vigorous, with a sincere ring of friendliness and good humour—the same friendliness and good humour which are characteristic

¹ Reprinted by permission of the Author and of Messrs Hodder and Stoughton.

of his manners. He strikes one on meeting as a warm-hearted and very happy man, who can never know what it is to be either physically tired or mentally bored."

Then the writer strikes the happiest of all descriptions of Frank. "I am tempted to think", says he, "that if Mr Pickwick had given birth to a son and that son had emigrated to America in boyhood he would have been not unlike this amiable and friendly surgeon of souls. Fuller acquaintance of 'F.B.' brings to one's mind the knowledge that in spite of his boyish cheerfulness he is of the house and lineage of all true mystics from Plotinus to Tolstoy."

The first serious crisis came in Frank's life when a fellow-student at Mount Airy Seminary, Philadelphia, accused him of ambition. This accusation smote him severely, and he chose the most difficult quarter of Philadelphia for his initial labours. The invitation to his first church was not without humour. It said, "*The question of salary must for the time be left unstated.*" Meaning there could be no stated salary, because all the money collected for the non-existent church was seventeen dollars, mostly in pennies. But someone gave a new corner shop, and this, under Frank's vigorous direction, grew speedily into the Church of the Good Shepherd. . . .

There grew out from it a hospice for young men which developed into a community of hospices spreading through other cities. . . .

Experience with the younger generation at the hospice taught Frank how to handle the grown-ups; especially never to lose his temper, as no one was likely to pick it up. From a child he learned later never to laugh at other people's faults ("You are just as funny yourself"). Frank's secret of getting boys up early on Sunday mornings was not to scold but to announce there would be pancakes on the table at nine sharp. After that all were down on time, some before time. . . .

And now Frank had trouble. Both hospice and settlement were under the same control—a committee of clergy and laity. After five years there came a clash, bringing about the second big crisis in Frank's life, and leading presently to the establishment of the Oxford Group movement. The business committee

were strong on balancing the budget, as business committees always are. Sometimes the budget would not balance—when the young folk were numerous and hungry. So the Committee requested Frank to reduce the rations. The spirit of *Oliver Twist* stirred within Frank, who resented the order, and nursed ill-will against the six persons who were dominating him in this respect.

"Here", he frankly admits, "I failed. I said the Committee were behaving badly. Yet my work had become my idol. All I should have done was to resign and let it go at that. Right in my conviction, I was wrong in harbouring ill-will. I left and came abroad, my health badly affected by overwork. *En route* I had the vision of 'Care' in Horace's Ode, following me on a charger, always just behind. I could almost hear the horses' hoofs and feel their breath in the back of my neck.

"Travelling through Italy, and other parts of the Continent, I found my way back to England, and so up to Keswick, where a convention was in progress. And there something happened ! Something for which I shall always be grateful."

A tiny village church. A tiny congregation. A special afternoon meeting. The speaker—a woman ! No thunder, no lightning, no cloud, no supernatural voice, but a simple, straightforward, conversational talk to a gathering of about seventeen persons, including Frank. The woman speaker spoke about the Cross of Christ, of the sinner and the One who had made full satisfaction for the sins of the world.

"A doctrine which I knew as a boy," says Frank, "which my Church believed, which I had always been taught and which that day became a great reality for me. I had entered the little church with a divided will, nursing pride, selfishness, ill-will, which prevented me from functioning as a Christian minister should. The woman's simple talk personalised the Cross for me that day, and suddenly I had a poignant vision of the Crucified.

"With this deeper experience of how the love of God in Christ had bridged the chasm dividing me from Him, and the new sense of buoyant life that had come, I returned to the house feeling a powerful urge to share my experience. Thereupon I wrote to the six committee-men in America against whom I had nursed the ill-will and told them my experience, and how

at the foot of the Cross I could only think of my own sin. At the top of each letter I wrote this verse :

When I survey the wondrous Cross
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss
And pour contempt on all my pride.

Then I said,

My dear Friend,

I have nursed ill-will against you. I am sorry.
Forgive me ?

Yours sincerely,

FRANK

"A further test of this new experience came to me later on when I returned home. Attending church on Christmas morning, whom should I see in front of me but the person whom I considered to have wronged me most of all. He had a bald spot on his head, and at one time, whenever I sat facing it in committee meetings, I used to think the letter 'I' was written all over that spot. That morning I forgot even the bald spot itself, as the true Christmas spirit of peace on earth, goodwill to all, reigned in my heart. I naturally wished this former opponent on the Committee a merry Christmas, and meant it, though as I did so he was looking on the floor as if seeking a lost pin. But he, too, wished me a merry Christmas, and appreciated the fact that at the Cross I had learnt the great truth never to be resentful against anybody, including committees."

The foregoing story of the change in his life was told me by Frank himself. . . .

And now let Loudon Hamilton, one of Frank's friends, formerly a master at Eton, tell you, as he told me, the story of how Frank arrived in Oxford, guided to put his challenging convictions into operation in the intellectual centre of England. Especially do I recall the way in which Loudon expressed his feeling of boredom, with a tinge of vague curiosity, at being

asked to meet "an American professor from Cambridge". (Frank had spent a short time in Cambridge before coming to Oxford.) The rest of this chapter is in Loudon Hamilton's words :

"Care to meet a man from Cambridge?"

This somewhat mystifying request from a Rugger-playing Rhodes scholar floated across the quad one summer evening in 1921. We do have manners, so we said, "Yes." Our Rhodes athlete brought forward a man of middle size with manners and clothes that gave no clue to his job, but his eyes were large and alert. Thus entered Frank to Oxford. There were no announcements, no advertisements. Yet there began then in Oxford an influence admittedly more far-reaching than most of the organised, patronised, and authorised movements in religion.

One man had entered Oxford carrying a vital message, himself in tune and touch with God.

We invited him to attend our Philosophic fortnightly meeting. At first, it was a serious evening—in the wrong sense. The occasion was a philosophic debate—we became very profound. Who was it who wittily said that in Oxford we don't always stop talking when we have finished what we have to say?

Eleven o'clock came—so far Frank had said nothing. Coming from Cambridge, this was unexpected—so he had to be asked. Picture the crowd: ninety per cent. ex-officer undergraduates, from majors downwards; men with reputations from the Intelligence Service, from the Navy, veterans of twenty-one or twenty-two with rows of medals never seen or referred to: men who had since gone into important positions in Education, Civil Service, Diplomacy and Empire-building.

There were the men of influence in college. Most of them played games or rowed, some really well. On Sunday a few—very few—would go to chapel. Now we were deep in arm-chairs and the air was delicious with Dunhills. The moment Frank began, the atmosphere changed. He picked up some thread in the discussion and used that to weave his pattern. He began to tell of changed lives. His language was untheological. He described the changes in men so like ourselves that interest was riveted at once.

How else could it have been done? By sermons? By uplifting appeals? By philosophic subtleties? All these were familiar, but here was something new. Or was it new? At least fresh, and therefore interesting. Somehow our debate had been forgotten. We went out saying to one another, "What do you think of this fellow?" A thing of rare courage had been done among men accustomed to courage of another sort. It rather took our breath away, leaving more than a note of interrogation.

A week or two later Frank returned to Oxford with three Cambridge men to spend the week-end. They came to tell us what their contact with Frank had meant to them. Yet they were not speaking about a man. These men were not the type that one generally associates with religious enthusiasm; one of them was a leading Cambridge Rugged Blue, the other two were ex-officers of the cultured, attractive type. More than that, they seemed to have a radiance, subtle yet distinct, in their faces and manners and a good fellowship among themselves that were as attractive as they were unforced.

That evening in our rooms these men spoke easily, yet convincingly, of a new power that had come into their lives to help them with their problems. They immediately captured the attention of the Oxford men. Granted that it was doing what was not done—i.e., talking about personal religion—yet it was done in a way that could offend no one, but only gain their confidence and sympathy.

Their words were the words of honest men out to share something good with anyone who had the sense to receive it . . .

Following their visit, groups of men would drift together in the quad and discuss this apparently new thing. Discussion rapidly changed to deeper interest, even to astonishment when it became known that some of the atheists and agnostics were different. There was abroad in the College an air of expectancy—what was this all about?

The new quality of honesty became infectious. It continued to operate the following term at Oxford. Old friends began asking the reasons for new changes. A group of six met one night. A few nights later another six men were invited.

Forty-four men actually turned up, and we adjourned to the Junior Common Room. Four of the men had fortified themselves before coming and were slightly tipsy.

The vitriol of their attacks somehow failed to penetrate the charm and reality of the atmosphere. We were definitely on the side of the angels. The message had established itself among us, and to oppose it was not primarily a sin against God, but a breach of good form. Prayer was offered publicly from a University pulpit thanking God for the illumination that had come to Oxford.

3

FRANK BUCHMAN'S SECRET

From For Sinners Only by A. J. Russell

What is the secret of Frank's power? He revealed it to me on the afternoon of Easter Day, during one of his gay chats over tea at Oxford.

"I was very busy (Frank began) working eighteen to twenty hours every day. So busy that I had two telephones in my bedroom. Still I was dissatisfied with the results. There was a constant coming and going, but the changes in the lives of my visitors were inadequate, and not revolutionary enough to become permanent. So I decided on a radical procedure—to give that hour of the day from five to six in the morning when the 'phones were unlikely to ring to listen for the Still Small Voice to inspire and direct. . . ."

It is impossible to understand Frank at all unless he is thought of as always in God's presence, listening for direction and accepting power, which he says is the normal way for a sane human being to live. Frank is an example of the psychologically mature man, thoroughly integrated round the highest relation-

ship possible to man. He does not wander voluntarily in his spiritual life : he goes direct to the Source all the time, and expects the Source to come direct to him. This discipline at the heart of the movement means complete freedom. The paradox of Christianity.

Frank is a child listening to God and obeying Him implicitly, and getting all those around him to do the same. And no one will ever understand this movement who does not accept this as a working hypothesis, whether he believes it or not at the start. After a time he begins to see it is true.

4

PORTRAIT OF A REVOLUTIONARY

Carl Henrik Clemmensen, special correspondent of Dagens Nyheder (Copenhagen), in a feature article on 4 June, 1935 entitled "A Birthday in Denmark", gave a personal tribute to Dr Buchman on his fifty-seventh birthday. Clemmensen was assassinated by the Nazis on 31 August, 1943.

This remarkable man today celebrates his birthday in Denmark. He is fifty-seven, and everybody who has learned to know his phenomenal vitality will be amazed at this high figure. Who knows but it may be the first and last time that he celebrates his birthday on Danish soil ? He himself told me the other day that he spent his life constantly travelling from country to country, from district to district, never resting, always looking for new fields for his work—just like the apostles. Therefore, even if it is not a round figure, there may be reason enough for us to mark the day. Frank Buchman has been here for only eight weeks, but for some of us it has meant eight times eight weeks. He came here as a challenge. He still remains a challenge.

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I feel almost convinced that when he soon has left and is no longer here the challenge will be felt in equal strength.

I know for certain that that is just what he himself is thinking. As late as yesterday morning I stood with him in the sunshine of Marienlyst, and I remarked on the colossal inspiration he has meant to so many people here. "Inspiration?" He looked at me quickly in surprise. "Not me, the Holy Spirit!" He called witnesses, Fredrik Ramm, Reggie Holme, Bishop Roots and everyone else who was near us. He asked them to sanction that *he* was certainly not capable of inspiring anything. It was teamwork, inspired by the Holy Spirit.

Let him explain it as he will. He has got it in him. Let him himself call it the Holy Spirit. Let the atheists describe it as electricity. He has force and power to a degree that one very seldom meets in our time, and I know for certain that he is a force and a power serving God.

He is more than that. He is human. He is the best companion anyone could find. When "Frank", as his friends call him, says, "Good for you!" to somebody, there isn't the slightest doubt that he really means it. . . .

Children adore him. That is significant. He is above any cheap insult. Even if all the world's mediocre caricaturists plotted to ridicule him and portray him as a fool, whose activity was only governed by desire for money and by vanity, he would meet them with a bright and friendly laugh. I never heard him angry with anybody, nor speak evil of anyone; only very seldom I have seen him sorry, when he met that which he from his movement's ideals calls negative. He is so sure. He believes in miracles. He foresees that perhaps tomorrow the offender will be his best friend and be sorry for his own badness.

Denmark's Minister for Church Affairs has said of this work Dr Buchman has carried on in this country, that he 'digs deep, aims high, and embraces all. One of the last messages Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, that unforgettable prophet of the Scandinavian Church, sent out from his death-bed, was a telegram to him, in which he expressed in an almost identical way his own admiration for his work. There have already passed a number of years since he began it, and the doubters have long since

started to tell the world about the practical results of Frank Buchman's attempt to carry forward a Christian world-revolution.

Let them shout ! He himself is today, on his fifty-seventh birthday, a living contradiction of every suspicion. He still has the real boyish spirit in him. A wise observer has said that it is the boy in us that gets us to carry out the activities of manhood. A greater and a happier boy, and a boy with more far-flung dreams than he who today celebrates his birthday among us, one will have to go far to find.

There are many people here in this country who in various ways owe him thanks, and who will be glad to use this opportunity to say it to him. I well know that in and for itself that is in conflict with his principles. But it shall be said all the same—people are only human.

5

WHO LEADS THE OXFORD GROUP ?

A representative of Het Volk, the chief Labour newspaper of Holland, attended the Oxford Group gatherings in Utrecht in May, 1937. He came with a critical attitude. In his first articles he spoke of his cynicism and how it melted before the reality he saw.

After one of the great demonstrations he summed up the occasion and his convictions about the message Dr Buchman (Het Volk, 10 May, 1937) :

Just now I have seen Dr Frank Buchman, the leader of the Oxford Group movement, at work in a big mass meeting. And it is a very cheerful reporter who sits now behind the typewriter to trust his impressions to the paper, for it was really something extraordinary. There you have a man who knows perfectly the art of thinking and acting on great lines, but who misses at the same time not a single detail.

On Ascension Day the Oxford Group held three mass meetings in the vast hall of the Vegetable Market, each of which was crowded so that people had to look for places outside the hall. This time the meetings had an international character as they were devoted to brotherhood between the nations. Men and women of the most diverse nationalities, from East and West, from North and South, came to witness to their feeling of international fellowship, without discrimination of nation and race, under the leadership of God.

Loudon Hamilton, the man in whose student rooms at Oxford the movement began, told a very humorous story of the first visit Dr Buchman paid him in his beer and beefsteak society, and how, after talking into the wee small hours, he made an appointment for breakfast with Dr Buchman. From his rooms the movement has spread all over the world with a mighty momentum.

How did Dr Buchman himself come to it? About this he told the audience in a speech which did not last three minutes but made a very deep impression.

It may happen that someone asks you, "What is that Oxford Group?" Here is the answer. (Dr Buchman is speaking): "It may prove to be the greatest revolution of all time whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the world. The birth of this great movement took place when I had a vision of Christ crucified. Till then my life was divided and governed by pride and jealousy. Then I learned that it is only sin which keeps us from God. But God can give us mastery over our will. The rebirth of men and nations takes place at the Cross. And in the silence one can hear the guidance which God gives to men and peoples. Shall we listen? Please be very quiet. . . ."

The speaker has spoken with a great certainty but without any oratorical show. And now suddenly there comes a moving silence over the crowd. The only sound is the singing of the birds in the rafters. After a minute Dr Buchman continues. He lets them know that it was in such a silence that the plans for this day were born. After a week, at Whitsun, in the Stadium at Utrecht still more nations than today will be represented. Let the visitors to this meeting read at home the second chapter

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF DR BUCHMAN

of the Acts of the Apostles about the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. "For", so ran Dr Buchman's closing words, "in our Whit Sunday meeting there may also take place an outpouring of the Holy Spirit over this country. The living God has an answer to every question."

Now they sing together the *Bridgebuilders* song and then there is a deep silence, which is interrupted by a singer from Ceylon, who, while all the people are standing, sings the negro spiritual *Someone is Knocking at Your Door*. Again silence, and then the crowd says "Our Father". From the hall sound the well-known Dutch words of this very old Christian prayer, but with this sound which swells from the crowd like a deep organ note, the prayers of the foreigners are mingled, each of them speaking in his own language.

It is wonderful to observe how this mass, which came more or less by chance together, rose to a unity of thinking and acting, though one cannot say that it was done by means of any skilfully planned suggestion. There is no hocus pocus about this. When we spoke to Dr Buchman about his leadership, he declined the term at once. Not he, but God leads. It is said without any unction but with a certainty that one cannot deny. . . .

This old message of Christianity, brought in a new form, has proved itself to speak a very convincing language to innumerable people. And, if it were only for this, it deserves uninterrupted attention.

6

SON OF PENNSYLVANIA

On Dr Buchman's sixtieth birthday, 4 June, 1938, the Allentown Morning Call, his home town newspaper, devoted a page to the story of his career. A few paragraphs from this feature article are quoted below. It was preceded by a note in which the Editor wrote :

*"Great Homer's birthplace seven rival cities claim.
Allentown, as yet, has no rivals in claiming Dr Frank*

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Buchman as her son, and if the question be asked anywhere in this city, among knowing peoples, 'Who, do you believe, is the city's most widely known personage?' the unanimous answer would be his name.

"Amazement and admiration have gone hand in hand in his fellow-townsmen's emotions as they have noted the progress during the years of this man and his idea.

"Now on his sixtieth birthday anniversary, from his many friends of his boyhood and youthful days in this city will go forth sincerest wish and hope that the burning zeal that has propelled his idea with singleness of purpose during all the years may continue strong for the consummation of all the lofty purposes which that idea embraces."

Frank Buchman has his roots in the soil of Pennsylvania. If you visit Pennsburg with him—a rare experience—he will show you the old swimming hole where he would swim, permission or no, and old Jonathan's cherry tree whose fruit was so tempting on a warm day. He will yarn with deep affection about those old places, surrounding them with the magic of his childhood, and you know that here is a man who, after travelling the world over, loves no place as well as the Pennsylvania town where he was born.

Buchman today is the same quiet, forceful American. He is six feet tall, strongly built, clean-shaven. He is disciplined, alert, full of vitality. His eyes have the depth of a man who knows the world. They sparkle with friendliness and humour and yet look down the vistas of history. But you carry away an impression not of the bold features but of the life which animates them.

His freedom-loving ancestors came from Switzerland in 1740 aboard the sailing ship *Phoenix*. One of them fought with Washington at Valley Forge. A branch of the family pioneered in Minnesota. The others settled in the town of Pennsburg. In this community of sturdy Americans of revolutionary war ancestry, Buchman spent his boyhood.

"His father", says the *Call*, "is still remembered as one of this community's ethical business men, a Christian gentleman." His

mother was a "quiet, cultured woman of deep insight." From her he gained the iron self-discipline tempered with an irresistible sense of humour, which are today his familiar characteristics. From his father he learned his understanding of human nature, the genius of making friends which has endeared him to thousands around the world. . . .

He never forgets old friends. One of his earliest companions died this winter at the age of 80—Mary Hemphill, whom he took from a tenement to be the cook at his boys' hospice in Philadelphia. He found her broken and destitute after the death of her husband, but she soon became the life of the household with her grand Irish humour. Whenever he came to America, he would squeeze out the hours to slip down to see Mary, taking his friends with him. The last time was two years ago. The present was dim in her ageing mind, but the years of service in the hospice stood out vividly. "He's a great friend," she said, pointing to Frank Buchman; then smiling, "but he makes you walk a chalk line." We laughed and understood. There was a titled lady present and others of worldly position, but Mary was queen of the evening. Frank Buchman treats all people alike. They are all regal souls to him.

As he loves men, so he loves nations. He carries the world in his heart. The greatest tragedy to him is the spectacle of nations losing their way; the greatest need in the world is the need for emboldened leadership; the greatest sin, the sin of an inadequate plan.

"Some nation", he says, "must find God's will as her destiny and God-guided men as her representatives at home and abroad. Some nation must produce a new leadership, free from the bondage of fear, rising above ambition and flexible to the direction of God's Holy Spirit.

"Such a nation will be at peace within herself, a pacemaker and a peacemaker in the world.

"Will it be America?"

WHY DOES "OXFORD" LAUGH?

Herbert Grevenius, special correspondent of Stockholms-Tidningen, attended the Nordic Assembly at Visby in August, 1938. His articles went far to interpret the new life springing up in the North.

The Group is not entirely a novelty for me. I have followed its undertakings and have a lot to thank it for personally. . . . But talk of the "new life under God's control" has been more or less abracadabra, despite the healthy and enticing horse-sense of the argument that, if a God does exist, it ought to be possible to get clear instructions how to be at His disposal.

But "changed" people was the word they used. Changed people, after all, are to be met outside "Oxford" . . . Great rogues acquire with the years a tendency to be lesser rogues. Your poker-back honest and straight-laced upright grow through increasing self-knowledge slightly more lovingly honest. Old enemies bury the hatchet of their private feuds. Income tax cheats, customs diddlers and "honorary" patrons of bus and tram get a feeling for social niceties and start putting things right—all without the Oxford Group.

But the new life, which nowadays this "Oxford" makes such a topic of talk, cannot consist just in these things. In that case every moral life, even that of the most tight-lipped self-effort could be a Christian life. . . . The new life consists in actually relying on God, not only with our lips but in every undertaking of our lives, however wild it may appear to do so.

The thing that has made the Visby house party such a staggering experience for me is to have seen people at work who without a trace of ostentation or sentimentality really do rely on God. That's where the change lies. And to try it once for yourself is the decisive step.

And that such decisive steps have been taken and are daily being taken, that something is at work inside people—that is

what is happening at Visby, a thing that cannot be clothed in words and telephoned in, yet the thing that gives the outward show of the stirring meeting its mighty driving force. . . .

Great meetings in a picturesque old ruin, not least picturesque in twilight and moonshine, may certainly seem very brilliantly staged, but I am glad that I did not just drop in on the completed thing, but landed in good time before the official opening of the party. Never have I seen arrangements and plans take shape of themselves in people's hands, from hour to hour, almost from minute to minute. Never would I have believed that anything so monumental could grow out of such makeshift improvisations. . . .

This must be what it is like when you work in wholehearted self-giving under the guidance of God. Even the old piano seems to give out an organ tone. And then to wonder why "Oxford" laughs ! It is a laughter of release and relief, a laugh of wonder and surprise, a laugh full of recognition whenever someone tells a story of similar fairytale experiences of so great import. They know their own helplessness, but they know too at every moment how the strong mysterious Hand grips the rudder and turns it straight. "Oxford" *must* laugh, as he laughs who stands erect in a storm and feels the schooner sail well below him. This laughter is the safety valve. Without it the force of the marvel would be too strong. This laugh is the equilibrium, the gyro in the Oxford Group. This is what keeps its feet on the ground. . . .

Even I, and even last year, when everywhere people were discussing and wondering whether Buchman would come to Sweden or not, called him on this very page "a little Caesar who sat afar and issued his decrees". I never knew Caesar, but I do not believe he was the least like Frank Buchman.

It is not his lightning smile that forms his secret. His epigrammatic sayings, his mobility and flexibility, his power to hold an assembly in his hand and yet to submerge himself and disappear in the ordinary ranks, none of these even really tells you anything about the real Frank Buchman.

Look closely at his pictures and you will see something in his very expression, something almost distrait, a sort of listening. For once the camera is telling the truth. That distrait listening,

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glance exists in reality too, however closely attending he may be. It is constantly present. Sit a few days and study his face, and you will be amazed how often he appears almost at a loss, not to say helpless. He makes no secret of it.

There is one basis only to his fabulously active life—guidance, for which he is openly on the watch at every moment. He is a sail always held to be filled by the wind, a man with a great and warm and humble heart, a democrat out to make men free under the dictatorship of God.

There is nothing really remarkable about the whole thing. That is why "Oxford" laughs and the other democrats get so annoyed.

II

CIVILISATION'S NEED IS MORAL

Dr B. H. Streeter, Provost of the Queen's College, Oxford, one of Europe's outstanding scholars and a leader of the Oxford Group, prepared the following statement a few weeks before his death in an aeroplane accident in Switzerland in September, 1937 :

I was drawn to the Oxford Group not primarily by failure to meet personal or family problems (though, since coming into it I have got much help in regard to such problems), but by my despair of the world situation—a despair which nowadays is not confined to myself. All my life I have been interested in world affairs, and I have made use of the opportunities to travel in Europe, and I have visited India, China and Japan. I was at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference at Kyoto in 1929, and was again in Japan on a lecture tour when war broke out in Manchuria ; and I have been to America, both before and after the great slump. The more I have seen of the trend of things, the less grounds I have found for hope.

I was one of those who expected much from the League of Nations, and from the various projects started since the war for dealing with economic conflict and social reform. These things are failing humanity, not from any imperfection in the machinery, but from the lack of sufficient goodwill in the mass of mankind and in their leaders, to make such machinery work.

I saw how largely the moral energies of Christianity were demobilised, partly through differences of opinion on points of doctrine or church organisation, but still more by failure to realise in actual life the religious and moral ideals which Christians are unanimous in professing.

The Oxford Group is recalling the churches to their proper task of saving the souls of nations as well as individuals ; it competes with no Christian denomination, though it aspires to revivify all. By 1934 I had seen enough of the Group to

realise that it was making bad men good and good men better more rapidly and on a more international scale than any other movement. And I decided that it was my clear duty to step into the boat and handle an oar instead of continuing to shout from the towpath a judicious mixture of criticism and encouragement.

I went with the Group to Denmark three times, and what I saw there convinced me that the movement was not merely an instrument of moral rebirth and psychological liberation for individuals, but was capable of moving nations as such by initiating a new mental attitude in economic and political conflicts. On the first occasion, the work was done by persons from some twenty different countries—mainly from Great Britain, America, South Africa and Norway, though with smaller contingents from Germany, Holland and France. On the second occasion, in August, half the work was done by Danes who had come into the Group in the previous April. On the third occasion, the initiative had passed to the Danes themselves, the activities of the foreign contingents being supplementary. That is to say, within the year the Oxford Group had become in Denmark a national force under Danish leadership.

Evidence accumulated of the effect on the conduct of everyday life. We heard, for example, of a rise in the standard of commercial honesty in certain circles in the capital, of a readiness in leading politicians to approach the discussion of burning economic problems in a spirit of friendly and constructive conference rather than in one of party bitterness and intrigue. Customs officers reported an unfamiliar influx of conscience money, and there has been a marked diminution in the statistics of divorce. Thus in one country in Europe, in the space of one year, there has been born a new spirit in facing the conflicts which threatened the collapse of civilisation.

History shows that in case of wars, revolutions, strikes and other major conflicts, a relatively small weight of public opinion on the one side or the other, or the presence or absence of moral insight and courage in a few individuals in positions of influence, has often turned the balance between a reasonable settlement and a fight to the finish. Modern civilisation can only be saved

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by a moral revival. But for this it would suffice if every tenth or hundredth person were changed. For each such person raises the level of those whom he touches in the home, in business, and in public affairs.

What I saw happening in Denmark can happen in Britain. It will happen if those who lead Britain learn to find in God their inspiration and direction. And Britain, thus led, would save the world. But the opportunity must be seized during the period of uneasy respite from major calamity which at the moment appears to lie ahead.

III

GUIDANCE AND STATESMANSHIP

Dr J. A. N. Patijn, an experienced diplomat, Netherlands Ambassador to Brussels, and Foreign Minister of the Netherlands (1937-40), was a leading spokesman of the Oxford Group in several European countries. His speech before the League delegates at the luncheon given for Dr Buchman is quoted on p. 88. A few weeks previously (July, 1938) he was in Stockholm, where he made the following statement to the press :

The need of the world is that the various nations shall understand one another. The small nations have the greatest advantage in not being suspected of casting envious eyes at the other nations' territories or intriguing for power or wanting expansion. They are in a better position to apply moral principles than the great nations. The Oslo States especially have only one wish—for peace. But loving peace is not enough. We must find a way to make peace. We must find unity, not in a common fear, but in a common vocation as Reconcilers of the Nations.

We need God-guided statesmen, men of character and moral courage, who have been freed from selfish ambition and fear of people. Moral courage is the need of the world today in its statesmen and its citizens. When you are convinced that God has told you to do a thing, then you should put it through and have the courage to act accordingly.

When I have to make an important decision, I have learned from the Oxford Group to think it over during a quiet time of listening to God. After our quiet time each morning, my wife and I talk over the guidance God has given us. This gives a greater objectivity, and after a quiet time I often look differently at a question. I have found in this way the greatest help in the solution of personal and family difficulties, and in my work as Foreign Minister.

The Oxford Group's chief work is to change individuals.

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And by changing a sufficient number of individuals they have a great effect on the nation as a whole. The statesmen who accept this programme can do nothing better than to apply to themselves these principles of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. These standards are as valid for the statesman as for the ordinary person, in public and in private life.

Above the tumult of sectional or national selfishness we must make the truth heard, we must raise our voices high. In the midst of selfish self-advertisement, the Oxford Group unselfishly proclaims the way to a better world for whole nations. That is why I want this message of the Oxford Group to reach as widely as possible and to have the greatest possible effect.

IV

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE IN SCANDINAVIA

The *New York Times Book Review* (20 March, 1938) in an article entitled "The Literary Scene in Scandinavia", gave special attention to the new literature being produced in Scandinavia as a result of the spiritual awakening brought by the Oxford Group. In contrast with the morbid, negative trends of the past fifteen years, the article stated, "the healthy counter-trend is setting in."

As illustrations of this new impulse in literature the reviewer commented on the very popular writings of Ronald Fangen, and new books by C. J. Hambro and Harry Blomberg. This flowering of creative writing which Dr Buchman had foreseen when he underlined the sequence of "Revival, Revolution, Renaissance" (see p. 64) also extended to drama, poetry, painting and sculpture. Into all these fields fresh artistic inspiration entered through men and women who had found a new inspiration in their own living.

Ronald Fangen, leading Norwegian novelist, President of the Norwegian Authors' Association, wrote in *Tidens Tegn* (5 January, 1935) in a review of twenty-five years of Norwegian history, entitled "Into Nihilism and Out Again":

The Oxford Group's decisive significance is that it has given us back Christianity as simple and clear, as rich in victory and joy and fresh fellowship as it was in the first Christian era. The movement's might, mission and power is to my mind the only hope in an age of Nihilism. One cannot drive out demons with devils. Only a great experience of Christian power can show men again that there is a meaning in life, a wholeness and unity in circumstances, eternal laws and values in life which cannot be broken with impunity. It is this which is now happening.

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE IN SCANDINAVIA

Fangen's books and articles expressing this philosophy had immense popular appeal and widely influenced his fellow-writers in the Scandinavian countries. In Norway many of them later became the core of the spiritual resistance that took the offensive against the Nazis. Fangen himself was imprisoned for months and only released when his health was severely undermined. Fredrik Ramm, his close friend who since 1934 (see p. 10) had been prominent in the Oxford Group work throughout Scandinavia, continued to write articles that inspired the Norwegian people to maintain their traditions in the face of Nazi oppression, and caused his arrest and death after two years in a concentration camp in Germany.

In Denmark, the dramatist Kaj Munk was assassinated by the Nazis. He was Denmark's greatest Christian patriot name through the occupation, and his death shook the nation. In 1940 he had spoken at the great Nordic gathering arranged by the Oxford Group in Copenhagen. He had earlier delineated its impact on all sides of the life of Denmark in a popular series of broadcasts entitled *Ten Oxford Snapshots*. He knew well that the crucial struggle was the war of ideas, and if that could be waged unceasingly, physical and political victory would be inevitable.

During the years preceding the war the influence of the Oxford Group in literary and artistic circles spread throughout Scandinavia. Among the most well-known Swedish writers was Bertil Malmberg, gold medallist of the Swedish Academy, poet and playwright and formerly cynical opponent of all Christianity. At the Nordic Assembly in Visby, Sweden, August, 1938, he described the new outlook on life he had found after meeting the Oxford Group :

My last book, *Poems at the Border*, began and ended with an absolute determinism as its philosophy. My new book, still lying in its folder, unprinted, has the same point of departure, but out of it develops the sense of responsibility and of guilt. Free-will is no longer merely a slogan for me. Each of us with the help of conscience must take his fate in his own hands. Hence my new book, "*Songs of Conscience and*

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Destiny", will show how standards have become a living reality for me.

By standards I mean the demands of Christ for absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. Fidelity to these will win security—for the individual in his own affectional life, as well as for all our financial, industrial and political life.

The Oxford Group is no merely theoretical philosophy of life, but a way of living, a bringing of one's will under discipline. It is a chart rather than an anchor.

It is a sign of weakness, you think, to need this discipline. Yes! And how weak I am! But what folly, if there is a powerhouse to be linked up with, not to press the switch and use the power. And this powerhouse is divine. . . .

As an author I used to think one ought to live in isolation and selfishly for oneself. But ever since I deserted this point of view my creative powers have been much freer. I find no limits now that I have found touch with reality.

His close friend, Sven Stolpe, had already written several books—novels, essays and biographical sketches—describing the impact upon a cynical and self-sufficient generation of a revolutionary Christian philosophy.

Another well-known writer, Harry Blomberg, arrested the thinking of the political and cultural leaders of Swedish labour. Of him the *New York Times Book Review*¹ wrote, "Sweden also has its 'Oxford' best-seller in Harry Blomberg's *We Must Start Again*. Identified with the Labour Movement since youth, growing up with the Marxian scorn of religion, this writer after two visits to Russia suddenly discovers that Communism is not the better way of life. Naturally, then, his conversion would attract a large reading public here, because it is something so highly unusual, coming from someone once scornful of all that Christianity offers."

¹ 20 March, 1938.

In the introduction to this significant book, Blomberg wrote

I write this book because I believe that my personal development and my way of reacting is typical of a whole generation and a whole class of society—I mean those in the forties who have been in the Swedish Labour Movement since their youth. Social democracy's victory has given us the responsibility for our country and its future. Many of us now sit in Parliament and on County Councils or Town Councils, or on newspapers as editors and authors and influence the course of events.

In which direction are we to take our country? How strong is our sense of responsibility? And in what does our belief really consist? Merely pointing to Marxism is not enough. We must face the truth, that the old ideology of the Labour Movement is worn out and that we are in the midst of a decisive struggle.

If the Labour Movement in Sweden is not to perish, it has no alternative but to abjure the materialism which a tragic confusion of ideas has made to seem its characteristic component, and equally definitely acknowledge the Christian ethic, without which all democracy is left hanging in the air.

Where did I stand? I was a Swedish Social Democrat of the first water. I paid my membership dues (when reminded) to a great number of fine organisations. The annoying thing was that I found myself forced to reflect that we who called and profess ourselves believers in brotherhood often behaved in a fashion that was anything but brotherly. While we orated about reconciliation amongst the nations, we continued happily a life of egoism and refused to reconcile ourselves with our nearest and dearest when we had injured them.

Equally little did I wish at that moment to delve into the mass problems facing democracy. I knew deep within me that the root trouble was our egoism,

our impenitence and our fear. I had come to a dead end, just as democracy had come to a dead end.

There was also another thing I knew deep within me. I knew this—only the person who is prepared to lay all his cards on the table every moment of his life, to acknowledge his mistakes and admit his guilt can free himself from fear. Only release from fear which is indissolubly connected with egoism, can free us from suspicion and hate. Only release from suspicion and hate can generate understanding, good-will, love.

Another Nordic writer, Sally Salminen, born in Finland and author of the best-selling novel *Katrina*, written while working as a cook in an American home, gave a human and personal reaction in an interview in Sweden (*Stockholms-Tidningen*, April, 1939) :

When I first met the Oxford Group I only saw the four absolute demands of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. Now I have seen something much greater—the vision of a new world coming into being—a new type of personality and a new civilisation. There is something overwhelming in that experience.

There can, of course, be no question of just patching up the old. What we need is an entirely new type of personality. An open, free and sure personality, living in fellowship, that both demands and constructs new relationships.

My years in America have taught me that this is something that should speak to the open mind and idealistic activity of America, and that the North can here be the Reconciler of the Nations.

I think, too, of the great place that women have in America. If we are to achieve a new and better world, women-folk must wake up and see their real responsibility. Openness, honesty, and above all, unselfishness in the home, would mean an absolutely

new spirit and an absolutely new fellowship. The spirit in the home sets the tone for the spirit in the nation. It is the ability in the home to co-operate positively between parents and children, that determines a nation's fitness.

When first I came into touch with this new quality of life, I thought I might get my life patched up a little. I was interested and approached the Group. And now I have suddenly realised that my life can become entirely new—something quite different from what it has been. If this can happen with a grown-up—what might not happen with a child who starts on this level?

I think that children born in this positive milieu, and used from the beginning to being guided by God, under His absolute demands, must grow up to be people who, by force of nature, re-create society to what it ought to be. Thereby, our social, economic, political and cultural problems will automatically be solved.

Much has happened since this new way of living began to be accepted by people in numbers. I have heard of and I have seen miracles among people of today, living among conditions that seemed to be hopeless. I have seen a new world coming into being as a result of this new Christian revolution.

Revolutions in all ages have sprung from dissatisfaction with current conditions. Revolutions in a few ages have been destructive, divisive, negative. But here comes a revolution that is out to gather all the constructive forces into one front. A new factor has come into the very technique of revolution—the guidance of God. I see that this has become a reality in the lives of the men who make the revolution.

V

GREETINGS AND MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

I

ON THE LAUNCHING OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT
IN AMERICA

Extract from the Congressional Record
Thursday, 8 June, 1939

NATIONAL MEETING FOR MORAL
RE-ARMAMENT

Speech of

HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN
of Missouri

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MR TRUMAN. Mr President, on Sunday, 4 June, there was held in Constitution Hall, Washington, the National Meeting for Moral Re-Armament. I had the honour at that time to present the following message from the President of the United States, which opened that great assembly :

The underlying strength of the world must consist in the moral fibre of her citizens. A programme of moral re-armament for the world cannot fail, therefore, to lessen the danger of armed conflict. Such moral re-armament, to be most highly effective, must receive support on a world-wide basis.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

GREETINGS AND MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

That meeting was sponsored by members of the Cabinet and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the invitation to the meeting contained messages from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Speaker of the House, the leader of the Senate majority, former President Hoover, the Senator from Kansas (Mr Capper), the Senator from New York (Mr Wagner), Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jnr., the minority leader in the House of Representatives. There was also one from John J. Pershing, General of the Armies of the United States in the last war, which I wish to read :

This moral re-armament should enlist the support of all thinking people. There is a spiritual emotion which underlies all true patriotism, and good citizenship itself is dependent upon the high sense of moral obligation of the people. Today, confronted by conditions so threatening to world peace, we must re-dedicate ourselves to the faith of our forefathers if we are to be worthy of our heritage.

JOHN J. PERSHING

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Dr Frank N. D. Buchman, founder of the Oxford Group. There were messages from the House of Lords of Great Britain signed by 25 members of that body, and a message from the House of Commons signed by 240 members of that body. Messages also came from the Netherlands, from the Union of South Africa, from British Labour, and from great diplomats the world over.

I think it is particularly appropriate, Mr President, to record these messages from Great Britain in the proceedings of the Senate today because of the presence here of the King and Queen of Great Britain, and because of the fact that included among the signatories are men who both personally and officially are associated with Their Majesties.

I ask that this document be printed in the body of the *Record* and that its printing as a Senate document be authorised (Senate Document No. 82).

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This document then prints the names of those who sponsored the launching of Moral Re-Armament in New York and Washington ; it quotes the address of Dr Buchman (see p. 102), and continues :

Mr President, I respectfully request permission to insert in the *Record* at this time a few of the many striking messages received by the sponsors from all over the world endorsing this great movement.

The messages are quoted in full with a complete list of signatures in the document. These messages include the following :

FROM MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS :

"We being members of the House of Lords in Great Britain, wish to congratulate you at the great meeting to promote moral and spiritual re-armament, which is about to take place in Washington.

"Unity and peace, whether national or international, can grow only amongst men and nations who become spiritually equipped with faith and love. The responsibility before God rests upon every individual man and woman, with us and with you, that they answer to this call."

Signed by twenty-five members of
the House of Lords.

FROM MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS :

"We, the undersigned members of the British House of Commons, send greetings on the occasion of the national meeting for moral re-armament in Washington. We join you in affirming our loyalty to those moral and spiritual principles which are more fundamental than any political or economic issue and which are the common heritage of our peoples.

"There is urgent need to acknowledge the sovereign authority of God in home and nation, to establish that liberty which rests

GREETINGS AND MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

upon the Christian responsibility to all one's fellow men, and to build a national life based on unselfishness, unity and faith.

"Only if founded on moral and spiritual re-armament can democracy fulfill its promise to mankind and perform its part in creating a mutual understanding between nations and restoring peace to the world."

Signed by 240 Members representing both Government and Opposition parties.

Other messages¹ came from representatives of British Labour including six chairmen of the Trades Union Congress, from representatives of British industry and commerce, and also from Members of the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

The document concludes this section with these words :

May I say again, Mr President, how fitting it is to record these messages from Great Britain in view of the great welcome which the Nation's capital has just given to the King and Queen, and of the fact that moral re-armament is strengthening those spiritual qualities which are the common heritage of our peoples, and the strongest bond between us.

Then follow messages from members of the Netherlands Cabinet ; from representatives of the Swiss, Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Parliaments ; and from leaders in France, Turkey and the Balkans.

After detailing these and many more messages Senator Truman summed up the occasion with these words :

It is rare in these days, Mr President, to find something which will unite men and nations on a plane above conflict of party, class, or political philosophy. I am sure that I voice the sentiment of all of us here today in expressing gratification at a response so remarkable to a need so urgent, and confidence that America will play her full part in this cause on whose fortunes the future of civilisation must largely depend.

¹ Given in full with signatures in the *Congressional Record*.

TO THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL MEETING,
CALIFORNIA

July, 1939

The meeting for Moral Re-Armament in the Hollywood Bowl, 19 July, 1939, evoked an extraordinary response from almost every part of the world. This response was indicated by thousands of messages which poured in—many of them in the form of signatures to a World Message—many others in eight volumes of signatures, illuminated pages, and colourful greetings from well-known personalities and places in Britain.

They illustrated the universal appeal of MRA. A London school set the keynote with this phrase which preceded the signatures, "MRA is not only for grown-ups and important people but for everybody, young and old, and for all nations."

In the Scandinavian countries thousands signed the greeting—the Chief of the Swedish Air Force, editors and businessmen in Sweden. In Denmark the message was signed by a cross-section of 31 major cities and towns.

There were 10,500 signatories from Holland, including the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, thirty University professors, 1163 members of the medical profession, 52 judges and 265 Catholic priests. From Switzerland, 120 representatives of the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, including the Presidents of both Houses, the Presidents of all Parties in both Houses.

Among the political leaders who signed the message were four members of the Dutch cabinet; the Prime Minister of New Zealand and three of his Ministers, the Speaker and the Leader of the Opposition in the New Zealand Parliament; the Premiers of New South Wales and South Australia; the President of the Indian National Congress and a Member of the Congress cabinet; the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of

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Jugoslavia ; the President of the Bulgarian Parliament, the Bulgarian Minister for Education.

It was signed by 543 leaders of Burma including Burmese, Karens, Indians, Chinese, Europeans and Anglo-Burmese.

The British signatures included bus drivers and conductors ; railway workers, clerks, ticket collectors, porters, steelworkers and unemployed ; Lord Mayors and Mayors of many cities ; famous British sportsmen, cricketers and athletes. The pages of these eight volumes of signatures touch many homely sides of British life—a master mariner from the Isle of Skye, a lighthouse-keeper on the Clyde, grooms at Windsor Great Park, the head-master and staff of the school to which Shakespeare went.

Many of the messages were impressive not only as representing a mobilisation of world leadership and popular support, but as statements of a basic philosophy for the different sides of life, which false philosophies were threatening, and still do threaten.

A group of British educationists, for example, stated :

Dare we leave the coming generation as insufficiently equipped to deal with the problems of human relationships as the men and women of our own generation have proved to be ? To send them out morally and spiritually illiterate would be fatal. We must equip them with simple and absolute moral standards, and teach them how to cure in themselves and others selfishness and fear—the root causes of social breakdown. For this our human knowledge and example will not alone avail. We must put them in touch with a wisdom and power greater than our own.

This is the primary education which the world needs to prepare it for every other form of education. Without it, the increase of skill and knowledge will merely add to the powers of destruction with which we already threaten ourselves ; with it, a generation will arise in which every resource of talent and imagination is set free for the enrichment of mankind, and such a renaissance will follow as can only spring

SUPPLEMENT

from men and nations who live fearlessly together in peace.

One very striking statement was that of artists from many countries :

Nations which have forgotten to listen to God will still listen to their great artists. On the artists, then, rests this responsibility—that God through them can speak to rouse the nations of the world. The question therefore confronts every artist—am I contributing to the spiritual rebirth of my country ?

To challenge men to an awareness of individual responsibility on the basis of absolute honesty, unselfishness, love and purity—this is the great need of the day. This is Moral Re-Armament.

In this task the artist, as citizen, has a stern and splendid duty to perform. His urgent expression of the underlying spiritual aspiration of this hour will lift his art to new heights.

Out of personal dedication to God, out of mighty sacrifice and creative living will come the spiritual and cultural renaissance that will save civilisation.

Among many unique and colourful greetings was this from South Africa :

We, representing nine Bantu races pledged to make Africa God's own country, see you as a great cloud in the western sky. Rain which means food and life to us, comes from the west. Will this American cloud send life-giving rain to the world ?

When a Bantu bride comes to a new village, people take pains to clean the village. She brings new gifts and is always acceptable. If the world cares to clean up its surroundings, God shall come with new gifts.

VI

FIGHTER FOR A NEW WORLD

A selection from Dr Buchman's speeches was published in London in January, 1942, with a first edition of 200,000 copies. It was edited by Arthur H. Baker, former Chairman of the Press Gallery of the House of Commons, and J. P. Thornton-Duesbery, Master of St Peter's Hall, Oxford. In a foreword they stated:

The challenge of the Oxford Group to a materialistic world has been consistent and unwavering. From the day when Frank Buchman, watching the frantic post-war struggle for security, realised that this security was frail and false, till today, when in tears and tragedy nations know the same bitter truth, this challenge has not changed.

After the Armistice of 1918 war-weary millions and their leaders slipped back with relief into the pursuit of comfortable peace. The blood had been shed. The machinery had been created. Recovery and reconstruction would be automatically successful. Lulled by an illusory idealism, the world discarded its responsibilities. Men and women forgot that true security could only come through a fighting spirit—fighting to rebuild the world under God's control.

But Frank Buchman did not forget. The current optimism ignored human nature. Buchman saw that the new world could be born and grow only as greed and hate and fear were expelled and men accepted the guidance of God. Such a revolutionary change might seem a battle against hopeless odds, but Frank Buchman was prepared to fight. He has never stopped fighting, and those who have given their lives to work with him have caught this spirit. They are fighters ever. For twenty-one years they have carried their challenge to the nations—the challenge to “change, unite, fight”.

In 1921 Frank Buchman had already defined his aim as “a programme of life which issues in personal, social, racial, national

and super-national change". That was the philosophy and the conviction born of many years living and labouring with the destitute of Philadelphia, followed by work in the Universities of the Eastern States and travel in many lands. To spread that philosophy he resigned a secure position in America. As his activity extended, the Oxford Group began to focus the longings and satisfy the hopes of ordinary men and statesmen. Here was the message that went far enough to solve the problems of a bewildered world.

Three years ago, when, in the face of fatally crumbling sanity and security, Dr Buchman launched the world-wide programme of Moral Re-Armament, he built solidly upon men and women he had trained during the previous eighteen years. The response was immediate. The message that had changed thousands of lives began to rouse the minds of millions.

The speeches printed in this book cover the period of most intensive re-armament and war crisis. They are short, simple sentences. It is the simplicity of thought as deep as it is clear. For a profound world-saving philosophy must today be given in language the ordinary man can understand.

As Editors, we approach these speeches from different angles, one as a parliamentary journalist of twenty-two years' standing, the other as Master of an Oxford Hall. We have in common the privilege of Frank Buchman's personal friendship, which we have enjoyed the one for seven the other for twenty years. We have worked with him, travelled with him, talked with him at all times and seasons and in all places. We know the tireless service he has given to Britain, the Empire and the world. We are personally grateful to him for bringing us back to the simple faith of our childhood.

In our search for security, for national unity, for total defence, for a conquering philosophy, Frank Buchman points the way to the fundamentals which ensure strength, sanity and the only victory that is lasting, because it overcomes the world and its materialism.

In our dark days he has kindled a light which, as men and nations turn again to the gigantic task of reconstruction, must eventually floodlight the world.

THE PROGRAMME OF YOU CAN DEFEND AMERICA

I

Gould Lincoln, the Washington columnist, described the contribution of Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament to the war effort as follows (Washington Star, 1 December, 1942) :

• Unity is the nation's need to win the war—and unity among the nations, after the war has been won, will be needed to make and preserve a just peace. Not only is it a matter of unity of purpose, it is unity of action on the battlefield and at home in factory and mill and mine. Unity does not just happen. It must be worked for, and sometimes it is difficult to attain. . . .

A man who has striven for years to bring a new sense of unity and peace to individuals and to nations, in the simplest of all ways, is Dr Frank N. D. Buchman, originator of the Oxford Group.

In the United States, long before this country became involved in the conflict, Dr Buchman and his Group sought to arouse Americans and to lay the foundations in home and in factory for the tremendous task that inevitably lay ahead.

You Can Defend America, written almost in words of one syllable, was a challenging call put out by Dr Buchman and the Moral Re-Armament Group. Two million copies of this little pamphlet have been printed and distributed, largely through industrial—both labour and management—and civic organisations. It has played its part.

It preached in a plain, simple way "Sound homes, teamwork in industry, a united nation" as the necessary background for a fighting America.

Moral Re-Armament has sought to help build a spirit of unity

among the people--and particularly it has sought to bring a spirit of unity between Labour and Management.

Having launched the pamphlet, *You Can Defend America*, Dr Buchman and his Group held meetings throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Its members interested leaders of Labour and Management. They have gone into industrial fields to help allay strife which was hindering the national defence output. They have been successful—as testified by leaders on both sides.

They produced a revue—*You Can Defend America*—unique in character. It has been shown one hundred and eighty times in key industrial areas, in Detroit, the Steel-workers' convention in Cleveland and the American Federation of Labour convention in Toronto. It has been produced in Florida, in Maine, in Pennsylvania and in many more Western States.

A counterpart of the show is being produced in our ally to the north, entitled *Pull Together Canada*. A prominent Canadian industrialist, responsible for aircraft production, recently visited Washington. He inspected all the morale-building production-speeding posters and movies and said that he felt the same lack in them he felt in a similar Canadian programme.

They did not, he said, have a simple positive national philosophy for which men will give their all because it touches their hearts and wills. The one thing, he said, that seemed to strike the right note was the revue, *Pull Together Canada*. During the last two weeks this revue has been packed by miners to whom it was being shown throughout the Nova Scotia mine area.

An even wider production of the revue, *You Can Defend America*, is planned, with requests for it from many parts of the country and the West Coast in particular. At the recent California State Labour convention, where the revue was shown, a resolution was adopted urging that it be presented without delay in every war plant in the country.

To Dr Buchman, sixty-four-year-old Pennsylvanian, must go the credit for this morale-building effort.

Recognition of the work done in this country has come, too, from leading Members of Congress. Among the signatories of a tribute of this kind were Senators Truman of Missouri, Thomas

of Utah and Representatives Wadsworth of New York and Lea of California.

It said : "Three years ago there was launched a nation-wide programme of Moral Re-Armament, the value of which was publicly recognised by leaders throughout the country. Since that time, the spirit of this patriotic crusade has run like a flame throughout the English-speaking world. It is stimulating personal self-sacrifice, industrial co-operation and national unity so vital to our Allied cause."

2

An instance of how this programme has affected industry is seen in the coal and steel area of Nova Scotia, Canada.

In the autumn of 1942 a national coal crisis confronted Canada. The previous year slow-downs in the mines had for six months cut production as much as fifty per cent. When the heads of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation consulted the Director of National Selective Service he urged them to obtain immediately the services of the Moral Re-Armament workers. The mine-workers' and steel-workers' unions, whose representatives had seen the revue *Pull Together Canada* at the Canadian Congress of Labour convention at Ottawa, joined in issuing this invitation.

In November fifty trained men and women came to Nova Scotia. They presented *Pull Together Canada* forty-four times in the next two months to 33,000 people—miners, steel-workers, shipyard workers and their families. They lived in and visited the homes of management and workers. They went down into the mines and talked with the men at the coal face. They met with Company executives in their offices. They spoke to enthusiastic groups of employees in the Union halls, the steel plants and dockyards.

"Before they had been twenty-four hours in the town their coming had already been felt in a more reasonable attitude between the Union and Company officials," declared a resolution passed by a Mine-Workers' Local Union.

After six weeks' work the President of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation wrote : "All reports I have received pay

a magnificent tribute to the excellence of the work that has so far been done in promoting a wider understanding of the issues involved in the present war and in developing a spirit of mutual co-operation between employers and employees."

Within three months results were seen in the production charts. The Manager of No. 11 Colliery in Glace Bay estimated that through the decrease in absenteeism on Friday nights alone 1,950 tons had been saved in three months. In the same period another mine did not lose one complete shift, as against thirteen shifts that had been lost through petty grievances over the previous three months. In each district that had been visited union officials and mine managers reported increases in production from the change in attitude on both sides.

In 1946 miners from this area attended the Moral Re-Armament training centre at Mackinac Island, Michigan, to plan for the further development of the work there.

The results in Nova Scotia, among others, moved Humphrey Mitchell, Canadian Minister of Labour, to state in May, 1944 :

We need a new spirit of teamwork between Labour and Management if industry is to weather the difficult days that lie ahead. My department has received considerable evidence of the valuable contribution that the forces of Moral Re-Armament are making to produce this essential factor.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, after seeing the results in his Province over four years, wrote that the plays of Moral Re-Armament presented "the fundamental answer to deadlock." "In Nova Scotia," he continued, "the situation in the coal fields has long been one of our most serious problems. If the work begun by the plays there can be extended sufficiently we may find the solution to the problems that have burdened us for so long."

VIII

THE GESTAPO REPORT ON THE OXFORD GROUP

The Gestapo report, Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung, was compiled in 1942 by the Head Office of the Reich Security Department. The discovery of this 126 page document during the German retreat from France was first disclosed in an Associated Press despatch by the distinguished American columnist, DeWitt Mackenzie. On 29 December, 1945, the following letter appeared in The Times :

CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY

A NAZI DOCUMENT

SIR,

Nazi Germany's determination to destroy Christianity has been apparent for many years, but nowhere has it been more categorically stated than in a secret *Gestapo* report which has now been discovered. As this document has received less attention than it deserves, we trust that you will allow us to set some brief extracts before your readers.

The document, which, as its title page states, was prepared by the head office of the Reich Security Department, concerns Dr Buchman and the Oxford Group. It denounces them for "uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism" in that "they encourage their members to place themselves fully beneath the Christian Cross and to compose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ." "Frankly, the importance of the Group lies here," the document continues. "At the very moment when we (the Nazi Party) are making efforts to suppress Christian conviction of sin, which appears to us the first step towards the enslavement of the German, a movement is emanating from the Anglo-Saxons, who are racially related to us, which regards just this consciousness of sin as a basis for change in national relationships."

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The document further states that the secret police regarded the movement as "the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy" and as a force working "to bring about new political and ideological conditions in the Reich." "The Group as a whole," it says, "constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the National State, and has quite evidently become its Christian opponent."

Speaking of the influence of the campaign for moral re-armament, the report continues :

"If one considers the names of the chief propagandists for Buchman's call to moral re-armament in England and elsewhere, the political counterpart of the movement becomes plain : the Jewish Western democracies. Nor is there any room for doubting against whom this whole campaign was directed, bearing in mind the year in which it took place, 1938, the year when—as it was said—Germany attacked little Austria, with brutal force. . . . The Group breathes the spirit of Western democracy. It supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims. The Group and the democracies supplement each other and render each other's work fruitful."

The whole report throws an interesting light on the Nazi mind, as well as finally dispelling the widespread misrepresentations which have been circulated about this Christian movement. We hope that a full translation will be made available to the British public. For it is vital that we should understand the spiritual foundations of democracy as clearly as did our enemies, and that we should sustain with all our strength what they feared and hoped to destroy.

Yours, etc.

AMMON
HAROLD E. CLAY
COURTHOPE
EDWARD LICHFIELD

LYNDEN MACASSEY
CYRIL NORWOOD
W. D. ROSS

IX. A FORCE TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK

The following speech in the United States House of Representatives by the Hon. Harold F. Youngblood of Michigan, reprinted from the Congressional Record, 2 July, 1947, describes the advance of Moral Re-Armament in America :

Mr Speaker, no one who reads the headlines these days can fail to feel the challenge to democracy to prove itself or go under. Our best answer to the ethics of other ideologies, abroad and at home, is to set such a pattern that other people will want to follow the road of freedom. Nowhere is this more urgent than in the field of industrial relations. We need to serve notice to the world that, despite the bitterness stirred by recent labour debates and legislation, labour and management are determined to tackle the tasks of full production in a spirit of teamwork.

Last Friday I took a trip back to my home city of Detroit to see what was being done in this regard. On the train I met representatives of the United Nations, Congress, the State Department and War Department, management and labour—both CIO and AFL. This unusual group were all going for a special labour-management weekend arranged by leaders of Detroit and our neighbouring Canadian city of Windsor, across the river.

The feature of the weekend was a performance of *Ideas Have Legs*—the most entertaining and convincing dramatization I have seen of the only force that can make American democracy work. This was the fifteenth and final showing, in its current run in Detroit, of this revue, which has drawn over 28,000 of my fellow Detroiters during this past month. I understand many hundreds have had to be turned away, and that the impact on my city has been tremendous and widespread.

People on opposite sides of industrial disputes who could be brought together in no other way have met in the lobby of the theatre, and in at least one instance, I am told, a strike was settled the next day. A committee of invitation headed by the Mayor brought this revue to Detroit, following first perform-

ances in Grand Rapids, Lansing, and Benton Harbour. Mr Allen B. Crow, president of the Economic Club, our city's leading industrial forum, called the attention of its members to the play as most timely and dramatic. Michigan labour has responded equally. Officers, shop stewards, and the rank and file of the UAW and other unions, both CIO and AFL, have attended. "This is it. This has punch," commented one CIO official.

Dr K. T. Sih, a distinguished Chinese diplomat, who represented his country at the Paris Peace Conference last year, came to Detroit especially to see the revue. He is now taking part in the United Nations Balkan Inquiry at Lake Success. Speaking at a dinner before the revue, Dr Sih stated the world need I think we all feel very deeply just now. Referring to the subversive forces, he said: "They have got the weapon of disunity. If we don't want to wage another war of arms, we have to have the new unity now." Mr Speaker, I sincerely believe that the revue, *Ideas Have Legs*, points the road to national and world unity.

I understand that *Ideas Have Legs* owes a great deal for its production to one of the world's foremost athletes, H. W. "Bunny" Austin. Many of you know him as a Davis Cup tennis star. You may not know that he served for three years during the recent war in the American Army. As a civilian, he has worked for this country without salary for the better part of the past eight years in the programme of Moral Re-Armament.

Thousands of Americans from coast to coast have come to know and love this great ambassador of Britain, who has so loyally and sincerely served the best in the common ideals of our two nations, and has been the means of inspiring thousands more to fight for the democratic ideal that alone can bring the nations into harmony and peace.

I have seen many favourable comments on the revue. I have heard messages, including that of Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, who said: "I want to say with all the emphasis at my command that this movement gives you the chance you have been looking for to go into action to save civilisation."

Mr Speaker, having seen the play myself, I can second all these comments unreservedly. I think one secret of its power

is that it is so real and down to earth. Every scene is based on practical experience, including the actual words of our Founding Fathers in the American Heritage sequence and the letter written by a G.I. the day before he was killed by Japanese machine-gun bullets at Okinawa.

It is put on by a cast of 150 citizen volunteers—members of a task force—including veterans, teen-agers, housewives, workers and businessmen. They are doing this without salary, solely because of their desire to have a part in helping democracy to pull together. They have been staying in the homes of labour and management throughout the city, and helping transmit that spirit to the families who have welcomed them.

Many of you in this House will remember *The Forgotten Factor*, an industrial play for national teamwork, which I understand was presented at the National Theatre here in Washington, in May, 1944, by a committee of invitation under the co-chairmanship of then Senator Harry S. Truman and our honoured colleague, the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr Wadsworth). Since then this play has been shown to hundreds of thousands of people across America and Europe, and last month was credited by one of England's leading weeklies with lifting production to its highest point in the British coalfields.

On June 10th, Mr Wadsworth introduced into the Record an address of Dr Frank Buchman, who initiated the Oxford Group and its world-wide programme of Moral Re-Armament. Speaking from Caux, Switzerland, Dr Buchman was introduced in America by Admiral Byrd, who spoke from Boston.

Mr Speaker, I am proud to say that *Ideas Have Legs* is a Michigan product, having been developed at the North American Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Mackinac Island, where our State has for six consecutive summers made facilities available. Thousands from the United States and twenty other nations have come to Mackinac for training in building sound homes, teamwork in industry, and national unity.

Mr Speaker, as a Member of Congress I have been considerably heartened by what I have seen through this force of Moral Re-Armament. At a time when it seems our hopes for a new world are constantly dashed on the rocks of national and international

selfishness, it is gratifying to find at work on a world scale a fellowship of people who are ideologically equipped and whose programme is rooted in practical human experience. I believe it points the way to world reconstruction.

The 1947 Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Mackinac Island, Michigan, was attended by 700 delegates from every part of the United States and Canada. Among them were a number of national leaders of Labour who issued on 31 August, 1947, a manifesto on the future of industry and of democracy. The New York Times described this manifesto in an article (1 September, 1947) :

Bearing the signatures of a number of national labour leaders of the United States and Canada, a manifesto calling for industry to join its working forces in a pattern of teamwork that would "sell" democracy to the world was presented today to the 700 delegates attending the North American Assembly for Moral Re-Armament.

Recognising labour's shortcomings and potential strength, the union officials, including vice-presidents of both the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, espoused as a new motive of industry "the passion to build a new world".

The power of organised workers and labour governments in the world "is not turning the mounting tide of economic crisis", the union leaders said.

"At the same time, labour in nation after nation is losing its democratic freedoms. Millions of workers are being regimented. In America, labour finds itself curbed by new state and Federal laws. The goal of labour unity is still in the future, while fifth column agents continue their efforts to divide and conquer."

The gains of labour, the manifesto stated, failed to offset the deficit on "labour's balance sheet" of 1947. "It is easy to blame others for these conditions. We can blame the forces of grip and grab—materialism of the right and of the left. While justly protesting their materialism, however, have we not often

unconsciously absorbed it in ourselves ? Do we serve the nation with the same enthusiasm with which we serve labour ? Have we a big enough idea of labour's destiny ?"

Labour's destiny, the manifesto maintained, could be :

"To make the wealth and work of the world available to all and for the exploitation of none.

"To find abundance in the economics of unselfishness.

"To turn out work of whose quality and quantity we can be proud.

"To find again the fire and conviction of labour's pioneers, that labour led by God can remake the world."

Continuing, the union leaders called on "all elements of industry to join with us in the following programme :

"To admit our own faults and release the force for teamwork that comes from a change of heart.

"To make the motive of industry the passion to build a new world.

"To make all decisions on the basis of what's right, rather than who's right

"To set a pattern of teamwork that will 'sell' democracy to the world."

Among those whose names appeared on the document, released to the public on the eve of Labour Day, were :

L. S. Buckmaster, international president of the United Rubber Workers, and a vice-president of the CIO ; William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and a vice-president of the AFL ; H. W. Fraser, president of the Order of Railway Conductors ; Eric Peterson, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists ; Ernest E. Pugh, CIO regional director for Virginia ; Archie Virtue, president of the Michigan State Association of Plumbers, AFL ; Russell White, president of Oldsmobile Local 652 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO of Lansing ; Charles H. Millars, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America ; John V. Riffe, international representative of the United Steelworkers of America, and Elroy Robson, vice-president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and assistant to the president of the Canadian Congress of Labour.

X. CAUX—THE ANSWER TO CRISIS

World Assembly, 1947

The 1947 World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland, was attended by five thousand delegates from fifty-two nations.

Among the many statesmen who came to Caux were the President of the Swiss Confederation, the Prime Minister of Denmark, the fourteen members of the United States Congressional Committee headed by Representative Mundt and Senator Barkley, the Minister of Health and Population from France, the Vice-President of the Austrian Parliament, the President, the Premier and the Minister of Finance of East Indonesia, and Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament from twenty-one nations.

Labour and Industry were represented by the heads of the Austrian, Dutch, Greek, Swiss, Chinese and Indian Trade Union Movements, by Trade Unionists from all over the world, including delegations from every major British coalfield, and by many senior industrialists.

A German delegation of more than one hundred, including Ministers-President and other leading officials, was arranged with the active co-operation of the American and British authorities.

Many Church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, attended the Assembly. Military delegations included over one hundred officers, from eleven countries, who attended an ideological course for the armed services, to make them "a training ground for democratic citizenship and the moral backbone of their nations."

Fifteen world news agencies asked for daily reports of the proceedings and gave the Assembly world coverage. More than one hundred special newspaper correspondents, including editors from many European capitals, attended.

Statesmen from many nations publicly declared their belief that Caux is the answer to crisis, and that Moral Re-Armament

is democracy's inspired ideology to turn back the tide of materialism on a global scale.

At the moment when Aung San, the Prime Minister of Burma, was assassinated with other Members of his Cabinet, when armed racial conflict broke out as India achieved her freedom, and when it was announced that seventy per cent. of the national budget of China was spent in war against the Communists, distinguished representatives of these nations were present at the Caux Assembly.

U Tin Tut, the Finance Minister of Burma, said: "In this critical period the only light is the unfailing light of Moral Re-Armament. It is the only answer to the clash of idea against idea, class against class and race against race."

Mr G. L. Nanda, Minister of Labour in the Bombay Provincial Government, and later acting Minister of Labour in the Government of India, declared: "We find at Caux the atmosphere which will bring hope to the millions. Here is the force that can change selfishness and greed and all that is wrecking the spirit and soul of people. Until I came here I had not felt confident that there was an idea which could be applied universally as an adequate answer to Communism."

"Moral Re-Armament is the most powerful weapon in defending the very life of democracy," said Mr F. T. An, Chairman of the Chinese Association of Labour, comprising one and a half million organised workers, and Member of the Legislative Assembly. "Moral Re-Armament is especially important in solving the problems of China. It will be no use trying to reform the Communists unless the change starts first in the Government and among its supporters. We believe that from Caux this force of Moral Re-Armament will penetrate throughout all the world."

From many of the European countries whose growing problems threaten the hope of world settlement, came distinguished delegations who found at Caux the answering ideology to meet their nations' needs.

From Greece came a large delegation which included political leaders, diplomats, newspapermen and Service chiefs.

"Greece is in flames," said Mr P. Pavlakis, Director General

of the Ministry of Labour, "and the flames threaten to engulf the world. Open war is going on in my country. There is a life and death struggle between tyranny and free democracy. I had many fears before I came to Caux, but here I have found the answer."

Mr Photis Macris, Secretary of the Greek Confederation of Labour and Member of the Greek Parliament, said : "The state of Greece is the result of the mortal conflict between materialism and the forces of democracy and liberty. This truth has not been understood by all the free peoples. Unless they realise their danger and unite to fight it, all Europe may be overwhelmed. Moral Re-Armament is forging the inspired answer to confusion, and the workers of Greece will respond whole-heartedly to it."

"Materialist forces see Greece as a strategic point," said Mr Exintaris, Greek publisher and former Cabinet Minister in the Venizelos Government. "How can we obtain the complete victory of inspired democracy which alone can guarantee lasting peace ? The only answer is at Caux. Only Moral Re-Armament goes straight to the heart of the evil from which humanity is suffering."

The delegation from Germany found at Caux the first real hope that democracy could offer a positive idea and a faith dynamic enough to fill the vacuum which has existed in Central Europe since the end of the war.

"Here is the last chance my country has," said Dr Erwin Stein, Minister of Education for Hesse. "We have tried to make democracy a reality, but have never succeeded. Now our job is to build a God-inspired democracy in Germany. Out of the recognition of our guilt and responsibility, we find the strength to make a new start. My nation brought great suffering and misery to many nations when we forgot that only God and God's commands have absolute right in human life and action."

"We are torn apart between the western and eastern ideas of democracy," he continued. "We know a lot about democracy, but we do not live it. Our task is to create a new democracy with life and power. I have seen the way to do this at Caux."

I take back to Germany a new spirit which is the foundation of a new democracy. It will only be through a change of heart."

Dr Hans Lukaschek, former President of Upper Silesia under the German Republic and co-founder of the Christian Democratic Union, the largest party in Germany today, said: "The call of Caux is like the call of the first Christmas. The way for Germany will be the way of penance and seeing ourselves clearly. It will be for us the way of the Cross. We want to live it out in Germany, so that we may include Germany in the family of nations."

Signor Umberto Calosso, Editor of *Umanita*, and Socialist Workers' Party Member in the Italian Parliament, summed up the convictions of the delegation from Italy in these words: "Italy is a small country. Our Fascist sickness was the dream that we were a great power. The truth is that Italy is a small country with a great gift. When an idea takes root in Italy it soon spreads throughout the world. If Moral Re-Armament can take root there it will soon bring renaissance to the world. This, I believe, is Italy's true destiny."

"A change of heart," he added, "is something Marxists like myself need to learn. The religious factor lies even deeper at the root of the world's need than the economic factor."

"It is a miracle that our parliamentary delegation—representing the Christian Democrat, Labour Socialist, Republican and Italian Socialist Parties—should have found such great unity here," said the Hon. Piero Fornara, Socialist Member of the Italian Constituent Assembly, referring to the thirty Italian Parliamentarians present at Caux. "Italy, which has just escaped from the tyranny of a Fascist regime, is afraid of a dictatorship, either of left or right. The Christian doctrine is wonderful and powerful, and as a Catholic I believe in it from the depths of my heart. But our selfishness has prevented Christianity achieving its highest aims. That is why it gives me such joy to see this movement of Moral Re-Armament."

A distinctive French delegation included representatives of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, senior representatives of industry and commerce, and Labour leaders. The women of

France were represented by such delegates as Mme Irène Laure, President of the Socialist Women of France, and Mme Eboué, Senator in the French Parliament for Guadeloupe.

M. Robert Prigent, Minister of Health and Population in the French Government, who twice addressed the Assembly, said, "What I see here at Caux fills me with great faith in the answer you are bringing to the world."

M. Robert Tilge, employers' representative in the North of France, an area which includes 14,000 industrial concerns, said : "I came to Caux to find the means of winning the battle which we in France seem to be losing—the battle for the future of our country and the salvation of the world. Two great forces divide our country. Everybody feels that the dominating force is the class struggle. Hatred grows from day to day.

"Since being at Caux, I realise that we employers have been as materialistic as the Communists. We have often opposed to Marxism a religion of which our own hearts were empty. If we are going to defend Christian civilisation, we must have Christians to do it. I had two lives—one public, in which I defended society against the encroachment of materialism ; the other private, where religion was not even shared with my wife. My influence among workers would have been greater if my life had been on the same level as my convictions. France has lost her religious life to a terrible extent, and the owning classes have a great responsibility for this betrayal of Christ. Anti-Communism is a defensive attitude, and the man who only defends himself is always beaten. To win, we have got to move forward with constructive planning and new faith."

Monseigneur Chevrot, of the Church of St Francis Xavier in Paris, well-known for his addresses in Notre Dame Cathedral, said : "At Caux I see the dreams of my youth come true. I have seen management and labour coming from nations which yesterday were killing one another, men from all continents, races and creeds, bound together by the same ideal."

Monseigneur Chevrot compared the message of Dr Frank Buchman with that of Father Gratravay, a nineteenth century French priest. "Both men teach us," he said, "that in order to change the world we must change ourselves first. To do this

we must listen to God early in the morning and write down what He tells us ; and both men have a global message.

"Our Latin genius and our French temperament can freely blossom in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament. As materialism is entrenched in every walk of life, Moral Re-Armament can save humanity from the catastrophe which threatens it."

Food•producers and agriculturists from many nations were strongly represented at Caux. They included such men as Professor E. de Vries, Head of the Economic Department of the Dutch Ministry of Overseas Territories and, from Britain, Mr E. G. Gooch, M.P., President of the Agricultural Workers' Union, and Mr James Turner, President of the National Farmers' Union.

• Mr Albert S. Goss, the leading agriculturist of the United States, and Master of the National Grange of America, which has a membership of 775,000 farmers, said in an address to the Assembly on the world's food position : "Meeting in Geneva, we have heard disturbing reports about the world's food supply. The facts are grim. During my recent visit to Europe I have found destruction and despair beyond our conception in America. As I reported to our Executive Committee and to General Eisenhower, the brightest spot in the dark picture was the courage, determination and far-sightedness of the men and women of Moral Re-Armament. The answer to the world's food shortage cannot come through a materialistic approach—it must come through divine guidance."

From Britain, miners and management gave facts and figures from pits where the new spirit of teamwork and a fresh incentive is being pioneered. For example, in one pit the coal target had never once been hit, until the MRA play *The Forgotten Factor* was shown there. Since that day the target has been exceeded every week, and the Coal Board, at the request of the miners, has now raised the target. In another area, absenteeism dropped in twelve months from 20 per cent. to 3 per cent.

Mr Albert Bentley, branch secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in North Staffordshire, told the Caux Assembly : "In the five-day week agreement there is a clause calling for co-operation between management and labour. I did not like

it. Here it has become practicable for me. As a representative for many years on an absenteeism committee, I say, 'Here is the answer for absenteeism.' I have been thirty years in the mines. I ask, as a humble British miner, that Caux gives this weapon of teamwork and mutual understanding to my country. It is the only incentive that will give Britain the 200 million tons of coal she wants, and help her to save Europe."

Mr Harry Wickham, Labour Party Organiser for 57 Parliamentary constituencies in the Midlands, an area which includes seven million people around the industrial centre of Birmingham, spoke of the present situation in Britain. "Britain is in desperate need," he said. "In Parliament there is a group of people fighting for control for the ideology of materialism. There is a battle going on for the control of the Unions between the forces of materialism and sound Labour. In every university in Britain, in every college, there is a small group of organised materialists fighting for the youth of Britain. And in the Press, organised materialism is doing all that it can to prevent this message from going to the people of Britain."

"Many people think the only way out is to wait for another military struggle, which will destroy civilisation. They are living in fool's paradise. We are in the midst of the battle *now*. Organised materialism is on the march in every country throughout the world, and it is the reflection in the body politic of the dirt, filth, sin, the selfishness and the greed in every one of us. 'As I am, so is my nation.'

"We have a saying in Britain at the moment that she must export or die. If she imported the philosophy and the plan and the passion of MRA and then exported it to the world, she would live and she would lead. Because when this ideology becomes the directing force in a nation, you have the one thing which makes democracy work. It makes Cabinet Ministers and statesmen of every individual citizen. It begins the rebuilding of the nation at its most vital point—in the home. It gives a new vision to citizenship. And it provides a uniting power which makes a nation great."

Among delegates from the British Dominions and Colonies was the Chairman of the Board of Trade from South Africa,

Dr Arthur Norval. A feature article in the *Daily Mail* (11 August, 1947) on the Caux Assembly, said of Dr Norval :

"Arthur Norval, Chairman of the South African Board of Trade, was at Caux. As a child in the Boer War he saw British troops ravage his father's farm. He picked up in a field a knife which some soldier had dropped, and he decided to hate the British all his life. He swore an oath that he would never speak the English language publicly again. Yet it was in English that at Caux he told how he had been involved in incidents which brought his country to a crisis that 'could very easily have lead to civil war'. Norval continued : 'I have experienced myself that a hatred which at times used to flash to white heat can be removed in an instant through willingness, although I did not know God or believe in Him, to learn His miracle-working power. I have just concluded at Geneva our South African negotiations with Great Britain. At this Conference I was defending an Empire which I should once have liked to see blasted. At the end the British negotiator said to me, "One of my greatest joys has been to negotiate with you." When a statesman refuses to face what is taking place at Caux, he is committing a crime against the whole of humanity. Here is the way to solve all human suffering. Will the statesmen of the world have the courage to face and apply it ?'"

Many distinguished leaders of Switzerland visited Caux in the course of the Assembly. On 2 October, 1947, a special showing of *The Forgotten Factor* was given in the Swiss capital. This performance, in the State Theatre at Berne, was sponsored by the Presidents of both the Swiss Houses of Parliament, by the Foreign Minister of Switzerland, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, by Professor Max Huber, Past President of the Hague Court and of the International Red Cross, and by other leaders of the Swiss nation.

Among an audience which filled every seat and crowded the gangways were the Ministers of nine foreign powers, one hundred and thirty-two Members of the Swiss Parliament, a delegation of Members of Parliament from Greece, the Secretaries of the Swiss Trade Union Congress and of the National

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Manufacturers' Association, the President of the Bavarian Parliament, and the State Chancellor.

A dinner in honour of Dr Frank Buchman, was given at the Bellevue Hotel before the showing of the play. At this dinner the President of the Swiss Senate, Dr Ackermann, said : "We in Switzerland have the greatest interest in the work of Dr Buchman, who has been pioneering for twenty-five years the reconciliation of classes and nations. It is admiration for this work which has brought such a large number of our highest officials and so many members of the two Houses of Parliament here tonight."

Mr Harry Wickham replied to Dr Ackermann on behalf of the cast of the play, and said : "Moral Re-Armament brings in simple language the answer to the needs of nations. It is the idea which is bigger than the idea of materialism. When Moral Re-Armament comes in, the forces of Communism and materialism go out, not because we are anti-Communist, but because this force is more vital than any force of materialism. When Cabinets throughout the world begin to listen to God, we shall find God's plan, not man's, for the remaking of the world."

Representatives from the British coalfields spoke from the stage of the State Theatre before the play. "The spirit of this play works," said Mr William Yates, National Union of Mine-workers' President of the Victoria Colliery, North Staffordshire. "The pits in our area where this play has been shown have hit the production target more than any other pits in England. Only last week at our place we drew a record output for the five-day week." Mr Jack Ashley, National Coal Board Labour Officer for the Cannock Chase coalfield, said : "Wherever this play has gone in the British coalfields there has been increased production and a decrease of the antagonism that was the curse of the industry."

Mr H. Kenaston Twitchell, of New York, said in introducing the play : "Democracy is in greater danger today than it was in 1939. Militant materialistic forces are at work night and day to set nation against nation, class against class, race against race."

"Years ago one man, Dr Frank Buchman, saw the danger. Single-handed he fought to build a world philosophy and a world force that could answer the drifting materialism of our age.

"Today Moral Re-Armament is growing fast in fifty countries. It is a force for inspired democracy, with a moral backbone. It is not an organisation; it is an organism that unites men on a basis above party, class, race, confession, point of view. It enhances every primary loyalty to family, church, and nation, and lifts them to a level of freedom that can make possible a true family of nations. MRA stands for the truth enunciated by William Penn, that great American pioneer, who said, 'Men must be governed by God, or they will be ruled by tyrants.'"

Messages of support were received from every continent. Members of seven national delegations to the United Nations Assembly at Lake Success cabled: "*The Forgotten Factor* was shown at San Francisco and has had a great effect on many concerned with strengthening the sinews of peace through the United Nations. Such dramatic presentation of the basic ideas of democracy is essential in these days of ideological conflict." Among the signatories were General Ho Ying Chin, of China; Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, of India; Mr Donald C. Stone, of the United States; M. Fernand van Langenhove, of Belgium; Mr Solon Low, M.P., of Canada; Mr Einar P. Foss, of Denmark; and Mr A. R. K. Mackenzie, of Great Britain.

American national leaders, including Senator Arthur Capper, Senator Homer Ferguson, Representative James W. Wadsworth, Admiral Richard E. Byrd, and Mr Albert S. Goss, Master of the National Grange, sent the following cable: "Washington, scene of the American première of *The Forgotten Factor*, salutes Berne on the occasion of the Swiss première. May this event strengthen the bond between our countries, and quicken our common determination to build democratic teamwork in our industries and among the nations of the world."

The Hon J. H. King, speaker of the Canadian Senate, said: "The performance of *The Forgotten Factor* in Ottawa clarified

for thousands the true ideology of free nations and the part our citizens must play. The mission of Moral Re-Armament to restore the fighting heart of democracy is the most important in the world today."

The Mayors of Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Victoria, Oshawa and St Catherine's, wired: "Canadian cities have proved *The Forgotten Factor* effective in enlisting sound but apathetic citizens in the world-wide conflict of ideologies. This enlistment is essential if our civilisation is to survive."

The Hon. Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, cabled: "I wish to associate myself with the spirit of Moral Re-Armament, and hope your ambitions regarding the drama are fully realised."

Nine Members of the British Parliament cabled: "Our experience of Caux convinced us that Moral Re-Armament is the one hope left for every nation, and an urgent priority for nations in crisis. We fight with you to give the secret of inspired democracy to Europe and the world."

British Trade Union leaders, including four members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, Mr Andrew Naesmith, Mr G. H. Bagnall, Mr George Chester, and Mr W. B. Beard, the Chairman of the Federation of Building Trade Operatives, Mr J. W. Stephenson, and the President of the Agricultural Workers' Union, Mr E. G. Gooch, M.P., said: "Moral Re-Armament shows the workers a superior philosophy to that of class war. We warmly associate ourselves with you in this fight for the future of democracy."

Lord Mayors and Mayors from all over the British Isles, representing 500 civic leaders who have seen *The Forgotten Factor*, said: "We see in the message of this play the answer to crisis. We are eager to welcome Dr Buchman and the cast to our cities at the earliest opportunity."

From South Africa, Dr Arthur Norval, Chairman of the South African Board of Trade, cabled: "International conferences are proving a tragic failure because nations are not facing the fact that world issues are fundamentally moral, and must be dealt with on that level. Moral Re-Armament is the only answer and hope for a frustrated and bewildered world."

At the close of the 1947 Caux Assembly, the following invitation was cabled to Dr Buchman, from the United States, by Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd :

"Having heard of the incredible advance of the work of Moral Re-Armament in Europe, a number of us feel that the time has come to present first hand evidence of this to America, and to plan the next historic advance here. The United States is the focal point for the effort to preserve freedom the world over. We must be unified and changed as a nation to give democracy's inspired ideology to the world. Feel the value of the formation of a national committee of invitation, similar to that for *The Forgotten Factor* in Washington in 1944, representing outstanding political, industrial, labour and military leadership. Cordially extend invitation to you and representative European leaders you suggest for a programme in New York and Washington during the coming decisive months.